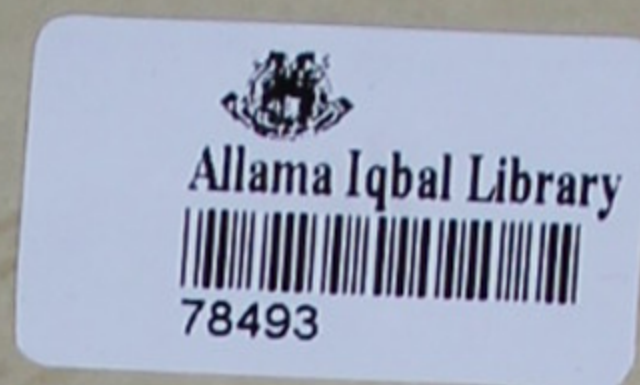


LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A. D. M.	.. Additional District Magistrate.
A. S. P.	.. Assistant Superintendent Police.
C. I. D.	.. Criminal Intelligence Department.
D. I. G. or D. I. G. P.	.. Deputy Inspector General of Police.
D. M.	.. District Magistrate.
D. S. P.	.. District Superintendent of Police.
Ex.	.. Exhibit.
I. G. or I. G. P.	.. Inspector General of Police.
S. A.	.. Solemn Affirmation.
S. A. S.	.. Sub-Assistant Surgeon.
Y. M. M. A.	.. Young Men's Muslim Association.



RIOTS.

*1. Riots
2. Demonstrations*

301.6332

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Title [REDACTED]
Author [REDACTED]
Accession No. [REDACTED]
Call No. 8 [REDACTED]

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CONTENTS.

No. of Exhibit.	Particulars.	Page.
6	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Raizada Trilok Chand, Governor Kashmir (Witness No. 1) ..	1
7	Written statement of Colonel Gandharb Singh, Inspector General of Police (Witness No. 2) ..	6
9	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Sh. Aziz Din, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Srinagar (Witness No. 3) ..	7
10	Written statement of Pandit Gopal Ram Thappa, Superintendent of Police, Srinagar (Witness No. 4) ..	9
12	Written statement of Pandit Sudarshan Koul, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Srinagar (Witness No. 6) ..	12
13	Written statement of Pandit Bhim Sain, City Magistrate, Srinagar (Witness No. 7) ..	16
14	Written statement of Ch. Bhagat Ram, Additional District Magistrate, Kashmir (Witness No. 9) ..	17
17	Written statement of Pandit Kishen Lal Kichlu, officiating Sessions Judge, Kashmir (Witness No. 10) ..	20
19	Copy of Jailor's Journal Nos. 738 and 739, dated 29th Har 1988 (Witness No. 11) ..	21
20	Written statement of Abdul Majid, Superintendent Fire Brigade, Srinagar (Witness No. 12) ..	23
21	Written statement of Syed Pir Qamar-ud-Din, Vakil High Court, Srinagar (Witness No. 13) ..	25
22	Translation of the Vernacular statement of M. Mohammed Abdullah Vakil (Witness No. 14) ..	26
23	Translation of the Vernacular statement of M. Asadullah, Advocate Srinagar (Witness No. 15) ..	27
24	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Pandit Maheshar Nath, Inspector of Police, Srinagar (Witness No. 16) ..	27
25	Written statement of Abdul Karim, Inspector of Police C. I. D. (Witness No. 17) ..	29
27	Written statement of Sh. Habibullah, Sub-Inspector C. I. D. (Witness No. 18) ..	30
28	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Th. Sham Singh, Line Officer (Witness No. 19) ..	31
29	Written statement of Ghulam Mohammed, B. A., LL. B., 1st Bridge Maisuma, Srinagar (Witness No. 20) ..	32
30	Brigadier Onkar Singh's Diary from 13th to 19th July 1931 (Witness No. 21) ..	33
31	Translation of the statement of Subedar Attar Singh (Witness No. 22) ..	36
32	Translation of the statement of Naick Onkar Singh (Witness No. 23) ..	36
33	Written statement of Kh. Noor Shah, Revenue Assistant (Witness No. 24) ..	37

No. of Exhibit.	Particulars.	Page.
34	Written statement of Pandit Ragunath Raina, officiating Deputy Jailor, Srinagar (Witness No. 25) ..	37
35	Translation of statement of Sepoy Abbey Singh No. 1663 (Witness No. 26) ..	38
36	Translation of the statement of Sepoy Gulodhu No. 1631 (Witness No. 27) ..	38
37	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Gopi Chand, Constable No. 1343 (Witness No. 28) ..	39
38	Written statement of Pandit Sham Sundar Lal Dhar, Director Devasthanam and State Property (Witness No. 29) ..	39
44	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Saif-ud-Din, Sub-Inspector of Police, Maharajganj (Witness No. 30) ..	43
45	Translation of the Vernacular statement of M. Abdul Aziz (Witness No. 31) ..	44
46	Written statement of Pandit Gawash Lal, B. A., Malayar, Srinagar (Witness No. 33) ..	44
47	Translation of the Vernacular statement of B. Anand Saroop, Assistant Superintendent Police, Srinagar (Witness No. 34) ..	50
49	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Mian Singh, Sub-Inspector Training School (Witness No. 35) ..	51
50	Written statement of Pandit Jia Lal Durbari, Sub-Inspector under training (Witness No. 36) ..	52
51	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Balmokand Saraf of Sargodha (Witness No. 37) ..	53
52	Written statement of Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, President Sanatan Dharm Youngmen's Association, Srinagar (Witness No. 38) ..	55
53	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Ahmed Sheikh, Fireman (Witness No. 39) ..	103
55	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Gaffar Dar, Driver (Witness No. 40) ..	103
56	Written statement of (1) Prithi Nath Madan, (2) Jager Nath Koul, (3) Rasul Sheikh (Witness No. 41) ..	103
57	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Ghulam Rasool, Motor Driver (Witness No. 42) ..	104
58	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Shivdarshan, Officer Station Rainawari (Witness No. 43) ..	105
59	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Balak Ram, Fireman (Witness No. 44) ..	105
60	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Bishambar Nath, Fireman (Witness No. 45) ..	106
61	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Kh. Saif-ud-Din, Naib-Tahsildar (Witness No. 46) ..	106
62	Written statement of Dr. Abdul Wahid, Medical Practitioner, Srinagar (Witness No. 47) ..	107
90	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Dr. Abdul Wahid (Witness No. 47) ..	110

No. of Exhibit.	Particulars.	Page.
63	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Mahadev Ram (Witness No. 48) ..	121
64	Written statement of B. D. Wazir, Inspector of Telephones (Witness No. 49) ..	122
65	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Pandit Dina Nath Wariku, Secretary Sanatan Dharm Vidyalia, Drabiyar (Witness No. 51) ..	123
66	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Sher Ahmad Khan, Drill Instructor (Witness No. 52) ..	124
67	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Hari Singh, Head-constable (Witness No. 53) ..	124
68	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Habib Maqai (Witness No. 54) ..	125
69	Translation of the statement of Ali Sheikh (Witness No. 55) ..	128
70	Mr. Wakefield's note on the Srinagar Disturbances (Witness No. 56) ..	128
72	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Bhagat Karam Chand (Witness No. 57) ..	133
73	Translation of the statement of Karam Chand (Witness No. 58) ..	135
74	Statement of Bhagat Amir Chand (Witness No. 59) ..	135
75	Written statement of Pandit Gopi Nath Handoo, Science Master, C. M. S. High School, Srinagar (Witness No. 60) ..	136
76	English translation of the statement of Jamadar Rattan Singh (Witness No. 61) ..	140
77	Statement of Lance Naick Sham Singh (Witness No. 62) ..	140
78	Written statement of Pandit Kailash Bat of Vicharnag (Witness No. 63) ..	141
79	Written statement of Pandit Vedh Lal son of Pandit Kailash Ram, Banker Vicharnag (Witness No. 64) ..	144
80	Statement of Vicharnag Hindus ..	147
81	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Budhi Prakash Dehli-wala (Witness No. 66) ..	148
82	Brief of the written statement of Chandra Bhanu (Witness No. 67) ..	148
83	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Abdul Majid, dismissed clerk of the office of the Director General of Agriculture and Co-operation (Witness No. 69) ..	149
84	Written statement of Brigadier R. O. Sutherland (Witness No. 70) ..	153
85	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Aftab Koul (Witness No. 71) ..	159
86	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Mirza Gulam Mustafa (Witness No. 72) ..	160
87	Written statement of Rai Bahadur Thakur Janak Singh Ji, Bahadur (Witness No. 73) ..	161
88	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Ahmed Butt, Remission System clerk, Central Jail (Witness No. 74) ..	162

No. of Exhibit.	Particulars.	Page.
89	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Sikander Beg, Jamadar Jail (Witness No. 75) ..	163
91	Written statement of Khawaja Salam Shah, Officer on Special duty, Ward No. 4 (Witness No. 76) ..	163
92	Written statement of Sardar Hira Singh, Post Master (Witness No. 77)..	163
93	Written statement of Gulam Ali, Sub-Assistant Surgeon (Witness No. 78)	165
94	Written statement of Dr. Deva Koul (Witness No. 79) ..	166
95	Written statement of Professor R. K. Bhan, M. A., F. R. C. S., Secretary the Kashmiri Pandits Social Uplift Association, Srinagar (Witness No. 80) ..	172
96	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Samad Sheikh, Lambardar of village Shilwat, Tehsil Baramulla (Witness No. 82) ..	183
97	Written statement of Lt.-Colonel Nawab Khusru Jung (Witness No. 83)	185
98	Written statement of Nanak Chand Anand, B. A., LL. B., Pleader (Witness No. 84) ..	187
99	Written statement of Pandit Mahesher Nath Munshi (Witness No. 85) ..	188
100	Written statement of Pandit Dina Nath Arigam (Witness No. 86) ..	189
102	Written statement of Pirzada Gulam Rasul, Head Master Islamia High School, Srinagar (Witness No. 87) ..	190
103	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Colonel Gulam Ali Shah, Pensioner (Witness No. 88) ..	215
104	Written statement of Abdul Aziz (Witness No. 89) ..	215
105	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Major General Sardar Samunder Khan Sahib (Witness No. 90) ..	219
106	Written statement of Thakur Kartar Singh Ji, Deputy Revenue Minister (Witness No. 91) ..	219
108	Written statement of Agha Syed Hussain, retired Home and Judicial Minister (Witness No. 92) ..	223
109	Written statement of Jogindar Singh, Lieutenant-Colonel, Officer Commanding 5th Jammu and Kashmir Light Infantry (Witness No. 93) ..	226
110	Written statement of Pandit Satya Lal Raina, Munsiff Baramulla (Witness No. 94) ..	228
111	Written statement of G. A. Mukhtar (Witness No. 68) ..	231
112	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Khawaja Ghulam Qadir Kapra (Witness No. 96) ..	240
113	Written statement of Pandit Dina Math Razdan (Witness No. 97) ..	242
114	Written statement of Sham Lal Bazaz (Witness No. 98) ..	243
115	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Aziz Ahangar (Witness No. 99)	244
116	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Qadir Zaru (Witness No. 100)	244
117	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Bakhtawar Khan, Constable (Witness No. 101) ..	245

No. of Exhibit.	Particulars.	Page.
118	Statement of Mohammed Subhan, Sub-Postmaster (Witness No. 102) ..	245
119	Written statement of Dewan Dhanpat Rai, Additional Sessions Judge, Srinagar (Witness No. 104) ..	246
120	Written statement of Mrs. G. Thakur Das (Witness No. 105) ..	248
121	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Qutub Din, Constable No. 566 (Witness No. 106) ..	248
122	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Yusaf Shah, Head-constable (Witness No. 107) ..	249
123	Written statement of Nur-ud-Din Khan, Sub-Assistant Surgeon (Witness No. 108) ..	249
124	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Maulvi Noor-ud-Din Qari, Teacher Government High School, Srinagar (Witness No. 109) ..	250
125	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Kh. Abdulla Joo Kapra (Witness No. 110) ..	252
126	Translation of the Vernacular statement of Mirza Nur-ud-Din (Witness No. 111) ..	256
127	Translation of the written statement of Mohammed Maqbul (Witness No. 112) ..	257
128	Written statement of Mufti Jalal-ud-Din, Secretary Muslim Representatives ..	258
129	Copy of a letter No. 1035, dated 12th September 1931, from Dr. A. Vosper, Superintendent Mission Hospital, Srinagar ..	259
130	Copy of a D. O. letter No. 11444/68-E. S. A., dated 14th September 1931, from the Director Medical Services ..	260
131	Copy of a D. O. letter dated 12th September 1931, from R. O. Sutherland ..	261
132	Statements received with Director of Education's endorsement No. 8187, dated 18th September 1931 ..	261
133	Copy of a letter No. 8183, dated 18th September 1931, from the Director of Education ..	265
134	Copy of a letter No. 7165/E-313, dated 27th August 1931, from the Director, Food Control Department ..	265
18, 54 and 48A.	List of persons wounded and killed during the riot and anonymous letters regarding Sangam Bridge ..	289

EXHIBIT No. 6.

**Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Raizada Trilok Chand,
Governor of Kashmir (Witness No. 1) dated 27th July 1931.**

A Hindu Police Sergeant Labha Ram is alleged to have profaned the Quran belonging to a Muslim member of the Police force by throwing it on the floor.

To protest against this incident a huge meeting of Muslims was called in *Juma Masjid* on 26th Jeth 1988/8th June 1931 which was attended by about 2,000 people. The following persons delivered speeches to incite hatred against the Government established by law :—

1. Ghulam Nabi Gilkar of Fateh Kadal.
2. S. Mohammad Abdulla.
3. Abdul Samad.
4. Abdul Rahim son of Maulvi Abdullah Vakil.

This attitude by the Mohammedans was kept up in meetings held subsequently at *Hazaratbal* and *Juma Masjid* wherein open sedition was preached by S. Mohammed Abdulla, m. sc. He excited the people to believe that their mosques were being used as Shali Stores and that the Mohammedans were being extended a step motherly treatment and they were being deprived of higher posts. The following Magistrates and the Police on duty may be asked about the full reports of the meetings thus held :—

1. Choudhari Bhagat Ram, Additional District Magistrate.
2. Pt. Bhim Sen, City Munsiff, Magistrate 1st class.
3. Khawaja Noor Shah, Revenue Assistant, Magistrate 1st class.

Choudhri Bhagat Ram, Additional District Magistrate, reported to me that in a meeting at *Juma Masjid* he was asked by one or two young Mohammedan volunteers that no Hindu could be permitted to enter the mosque whereupon the Additional District Magistrate directed them to bring their leader to talk to him. After the first meeting held in *Juma Masjid* when objectionable speeches were delivered, I called the following respectable Mohammedan gentlemen of the city in my office :—

1. Khan Sahib Mirza Ghulam Mustafa.
2. Khawaja Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Qauoos.
3. Mufti Sharif-ud-Din.
4. Khawaja Abdur Rahim, Manager Hazratbal Shrine.
5. Khawaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl.
6. Munshi Asad Ullah, Advocate.
7. Maulvi Abdulla Vakil.
8. Khawaja Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Gangu.
9. Mir Maqbool Shah Khanyari.

and asked them to persuade youngmen to stop delivering objectionable speeches. As *Juma Masjid* is under State control, a meeting of the Managing Committee of the *Juma Masjid* was held, and a proposal was formulated that a notice may be affixed on the gates of the mosque to the effect that no person should deliver objectionable speeches inside the mosque. But S. Mohammed Abdulla and Ghulam Nabi Gilkar etc. expressed their indignation at this order which I had issued in the capacity of my being the President of the Managing Committee of the *Juma*

mosque. I twice called Mohammed Abdulla at my residence firstly in the presence of Maulvi Mohammed Usuf (Mir Waiz) and Khawaja Noor Shah, Revenue Assistant and secondly in presence of the former only and advised him that this attitude of his was objectionable and conducive to breach of public peace. That he should refrain from doing this and in case he had to submit any grievances to His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur let him hand over these to me in writing and that I would submit these to His Highness. During these days copies of two notices dated 23rd Jeth 1988/5th June 1931 and 25th Jeth 1988/7th June 1931, and issued under the auspices of various Islamic Associations of Jammu city were distributed in the city of Srinagar. Previous to this Abdur Rahim, Manager of the Hazratbal Shrine, objected to the delivering of speeches in the said Shrine by Mohammed Abdulla. Thereupon hue and cry was raised and the mob was excited against him, to such an extent that he had to run away for his life. On this very occasion, it was fabricated that some Sub-Inspector of Police had entered the Shrine with his boots on. As a consequence of this Khawaja Abdur Rahim Manager had to report to the Police for maintenance of peace. During these very days another false rumour was spread far and wide and attempts were made to excite the religious sentiments of the Mohammedans that a certain number of pages torn from some holy persian books and Quran Sharif, were thrown in the latrine somewhere in the city of Srinagar. This act was ascribed to the local Pandit residents. On 7th Har 1988/21st June 1931, a public meeting was held with my permission at Khanqah-i-Mualla. At the close of the meeting a certain person, Abdul Qadeer by name, resident of Peshawar, a private employee of one Major Bott in whose company he had come to Srinagar, delivered a seditious speech calculated to create animosity between the different communities i. e., Hindus and Mohammedans of Jammu and Kashmir State.

A public meeting was held by me on 12th Har 1988/26th June 1931, at Hazratbal. Among those present were Police officers, local Revenue officers, President and Members of the Municipal Committtee, certain Mohammedan Raises and Maulvi Mohammed Usaf and Mir Waiz Ahmadulla Hamdani. As it was Friday, a large number of Muslims had assembled there for prayers. I held this meeting with the express purpose that I may bring true facts of the situation to the notice of the Muslim public and clear all misunderstanding that was created against the Government. But Mohammed Abdulla and his party had arrived there in anticipation, and were persuading the people not to stay there and instructed them to assemble in *Juma Masjid*. Even two or three thousand men left there, were not allowed to participate in the meeting and listen to true facts of the situation. None except Maulvi Mohammed Usaf and Kh. Saad-ud-Din Shawl was allowed to speak and row was created. Mirza Ghulam Mustfa, M. Sharif-ud-Din, Munshi Asad Ullah, Advocate and Kh. Abdur Rahim Manager of the Shrine were hailed as traitors and disrespected.

A criminal case was instituted against Abbul Qadeer, who had delivered offensive speech. On the days of hearing crowds of Muslim youngmen surrounded the court and its premises and shout everywhere "Long live Abdul Qadeer". They began even to obstruct the passage of the lorry on which the said Abdul Qadeer was brought from the Judicial lock-up. It was therefore considered advisable that the proceedings of the case be held in the Central Jail. The accused was therefore transferred to Central Jail from *Kothi Bagh* Police Station.

On 18th Har 1988/2nd July 1931 I called up the following gentlemen in presence of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police :—

1. M. Mohammed Usaf.
2. Kh. Saad-ud-Din Shawl.

3. M. Shahab-ud-Din.
4. Sh. Mohammed Abdulla.
5. Kh. Ghulam Ahmad Ashai.

and advised them that they should make efforts to end the present disturbances and stop delivering of political speeches in gatherings as well as processions.

On 25th Har 1988/9th July 1931, I publicly read out in Exhibition ground the message conveyed by His Highness to his beloved subjects in this respect. On the following day which was Friday a mammoth meeting was held in *Juma Masjid* and the audience was reported to be about 15 thousands. It was declared that they did not agree with the Royal declaration. A twelve years boy recited verses in vernacular.

The verses were hailed with loud shouts of "Allah-O-Akbar" (The God is great) and loud lamenting followed. Then came forward Ghulam Mohammad resident of Gurgari Mohalla, who addressed the audience and asked what could be his motive in standing there. The audience wanted him to explain. Whereupon Ghulam Mohammad observed "The man who stands here stands on the gallows for the sake of Mohammedans, be they in Jammu, Gilgit or Kashmir". The audience replied "We are all with you". Thereupon the verses were recited by the speaker. Abdul Rahim on this stopped the speaker to continue Sh. Mohammad Abdulla during the course of his speech referred to Abdul Qadeer, as a poor helpless man in prison (Long live Aqdul Qadeer) and said that Abdul Qadeer was being prosecuted for them and that they should pray for his acquittal and show great sympathy for him. He also requested them that they should feel for him and help him by raising subscription for miscellaneous expenses.

On Saturday next the 27th of Har 1988/11th July 1931 Mohammad Abdulla and Abdul Rahim delivered exciting speeches in a mosque at Batmalu to an audience of one thousand people and made mention of the fact of Abdul Qadeer's imprisonment, and attention of the audience was drawn to the historic battle of *Badar*, and an appeal for subscription was made. It was stated "be prepared to be sacrificed for the sake of poor, and earn a place in heaven". No longer should we remain slaves to the other party. Mohammad Abdulla said "I submitted my resignation on account of my transfer as punishment to Muzaffarabad for delivering a religious speech. The resignation was not accepted and I was dismissed. I appeal to the Government on behalf of those Mohammedan employees, who draw ten or twenty rupees, not to persecute them, or otherwise the time was fast approaching when they will also resign and the Government will realise what it means. A meeting of great Mohammedan leaders was held in British India, where M. Shoukat Ali, M. Hassan Nizami, M. Zafar Ali Khan, Abdul Majid and others unanimously stated that the time to assist Kashmiri Mohammedans had come. All Indian Mohammedans are prepared to assist us. I am in receipt of very many letters from them on this subject".

On 23th of Har 1988/12th July 1931 after 10 p. m. both Deputy Inspector General of Police and Assistant Superintendent of Police came to my house and informed me that the case of Abdul Qadeer will be heard tomorrow in Jail and that the Assistant Superintendent of Police had come to know that a vast number of Muslims will visit the Central Jail, and that they have been instructed to break open and enter the Jail. On being fired by un-believers they should face heroically. A meeting was held in *Juma Masjid* on 26th of Har 1988/10th July 1931. Selfless sacrifice was highly commented upon with a view to preparing the people for sacrifice. The people were appealed in Batmalu mosque to lend help in money, and person. The meetings were being held in succession. All these facts led me to think that there was a probability of the people

attacking the Jail and receiving shots. I enquired whether it was heard from a reliable source? In reply the Assistant Superintendent of Police said that the news lack confirmation and that he would make further inquiries and as soon as he could get at something, he would inform him. I asked him to phone to me the information at any time during the night or early morning. After this both the officers left. The D. I. G. of Police informed me that he would see Inspector General of Police and inform him about the rumour. I received no message during the night. Early morning at 8 a. m. I phoned to enquire from I. G. of Police if he had any information. His reply was in the negative. At 9 a. m. he phoned and informed that Muslims would assemble at the Central Jail as they did on previous dates of hearing and that Slogans would also be uttered likewise, but news about the probability of their attacking the Jail was not verified. I replied that notwithstanding this, as a precautionary measure a detachment of Police armed with Lathis under a Gazetted Police officer, be detailed on duty at the Central Jail. He approved of it by saying that he would act accordingly. He added that a few men armed with rifles would also be sent. At about 1 p. m. the D. I. G. of Police and A. S. of Police saw me in my office. At first we had a talk regarding the speeches delivered by Mohammed Abdulla and Abdul Rahim at *Batmalu mosque* and I opined that both were liable to be arrested and that Police should arrest them. After this the D. I. G. of Police informed me that he would leave for the Central Jail and that he would call me up on phone if necessary. The A. S. of Police said that the latest report affirmed the assembling of two or three hundred men in groups round about the Jail. The officers left at about 1-30 p. m. The D. I. G. of Police phoned to the Police Lines from my office to enquire if Police had been detailed to the Central Jail and instructed that the remaining force should also be sent at once. The A. S. of Police said to me that the Police had been sent for action and that it was necessary for a Magistrate to be present there. Thereupon, I phoned to the A. D. M. asking him to send Pt. Bhim Sain, City Munsiff, Magistrate 1st class, at once on the spot. After the D. I. G. of Police left, I again ascertained from the A. D. M., if Pt. Bhim Sain had left and was told that orders had been issued and that he would let me know about the Magistrate's departure. A few minutes after, while I was engaged with the Land Acquisition Officer, the D. S. of Police phoned me up from the Central Jail that thousands of people had assembled there and were in great excitement. A furious attack had been made on the Jail gates and the guards incharge of it. Police was insufficient and that D. I. G. had not arrived till then and that I should visit the spot at once. I informed him that the Police detachment had been sent as well as the D. I. G. and Pandit Bhim Sain Magistrate. The D. S. of Police emphasised that my presence was necessary. I gave up the work and telephoned to A. D. M. to get ready and accompany me. Consequently both of us left in a car and met a Police lorry near the bridge running over Nalla Drugjan containing armed Police going to the Jail. I instructed them to follow. At 1-45 p. m. I reached the Central Jail. The D. I. G. and A. S. of Police had also arrived a little earlier. About 6 or 7 thousand people had assembled there. Most of them were in the garden in front of the Jail and others on the Jail road, I alighted and entered the outer enclosure of the Jail. At our sight, the mob raised the cry of "long live Abdul Qadeer" and repeated it twice or thrice. After a few inquiries I examined the Jail gate proper which had been attacked by the mob. The Jailor showed me an iron ring (حلقه) which he observed, had been pulled out from the gate, and showed me the signs of repairs. I went up to the 1st storey of the gate way which was occupied by the Sessions Judge. I sat in the outer room where Police officers had also assembled. The mob, observing our movements in the room moved towards the Jail. One of them standing on the garden wall began to say something to the crowd, which I could not hear. From his gestures which were violent I deduced that he was exciting the crowd. A party of twenty or thirty youngmen jumped over the garden wall towards the Jail and it was clear

that a 2nd attempt was being organised to attack the Jail. I inquired of the D. S. of Police and the Jailor, whether they could recognise those persons who had attacked the Jail gate previously. Both of them replied in the negative and added that it was likely that Abdul Karim and Habib Ullah, C. I. D. officers, recognised them, as the event took place in their presence and both of them were local men. On this I called and asked them whether or not they knew any of them. Both of them expressed their ignorance but when I became angry, they requested me for a Police guard to enable them to recognise them. I therefore instructed the D. I. G. and A. S. of Police to accompany them with orders to arrest persons recognised by Abdul Karim and Habib Ullah. On sight of the Police and their movement the mob somewhat dispersed. Four or five persons were arrested by the Police and a few were pursued. Thereupon the mob assaulted the Police from different sides and showered stones. The Lathi Police immediately ran to their relief but in vain. The mob had become highly excited and stoned freely. The Police officials were wounded. Some under-trial prisoners coming towards the Jail under a Police guard, were attacked. The prisoners were set free and Police was belaboured. The Jail Police Line was looted and set on fire. The mare of the Inspector of Police was also carried away. An attempt was made to cut off the telephone wire which was ultimately accomplished, but not before I had twice conveyed message to His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur. It was heard that the Jail Press was set on fire by some one and that the Jail staff was running to extinguish it. The prisoners in the Jail raised a clamorous noise. The wounded Police poured in. The mob advanced slowly but steadily assaulting and throwing stones till it neared the Jail enclosure, while some of them broke the outer turn-pike. Others forced their entrance in the enclosure, throwing stones all the while. The armed Police was made a special target. Their intention seemed to maul them with stones and snatch rifles from their hands. It was feared that the mob may not snatch the rifles and use them against the Police and the Government officers present there and set free the prisoners. On this, the D. S. of Police requested me to order to open fire. I said "No, make use of Lathis". On this, he said it was useless as stones were being thrown from a distance like a hail storm. Some of their men were already wounded. Thereupon I consulted D. I. G. who agreed with the D. S. of Police. I ordered the D. I. G. to give a warning first which he did. In spite of the warning the mob did not disperse and continued throwing stones. I gave orders to fire and instructed, pointing downwards, that the fire be directed to the lower portion of the body. It was about 2-15 or 2-30 p. m. The Police fired shots in the air first and then a round of buck-shot on the feet and legs of the mob. Two minutes after the stone-throwing stopped the firing was also stopped. Again after two minutes stone throwing resorted to with redoubled vigour and again the Police fired out as before. The stone-throwing ceased and the mob assembled in the open ground near the Jail to prepare for the third attack. No fire was opened after this. A large body of the mob retired and gathered near Hari Parbat. Many of them tried to obstruct the road leading to the city and began to threaten passers-by. Presently a few Sowars (Cavalry men) came in view and they were directed to disperse the mob and were instructed to patrol the city after the dispersal was effected. A few Sowars were detained at the Jail. After a while Mr. Wakefield, Army and Political Minister and Colonel Sutherland, Chief of the Military Staff, arrived on the scene and the former heard the whole account from me and examined the stones thrown on the Police, inspected the Jail gate and saw the wounded Policemen inside the Jail. He also saw the thirty two men arrested on the spot and had a talk with them. Next he saw the Police Lines, and saw the articles such as boxes etc., belonging to the Police Line, scattered, pell-mell and visited the portion of the Lines effected. Some of the Fire Brigade men were still busy. The Fire Brigade was immediately requisitioned by phone when the fire was

set to Lines. I was informed by Abdul Majid, the Superintendent of the Fire Brigade, that some of the Fire Brigade employees who brought the engine were belaboured by the mob in the way and engine was also damaged. Before I gave orders to open fire, I phoned to Mr. Wakefield, Colonel Sutherland and Brigadier to detail Military for help. From Mr. Wakefield's office I got Pandit Raghunath Kotroo, Stenographer, and after him Kh. Abdul Rahim, Personal Assistant, who told me that Mr. Wakefield was not in his office. I replied that he may be informed, wherever he was, that the Jail had been attacked and that the position was serious and that Military be sent to patrol the city. I telephoned to Karan Bagh and informed Captain Faqir Singh, A. D. C. to His Highness of this and requested him to convey information regarding the attack on Jail to His Highness and submit that the situation was serious and the Military be sent for help.

After the 2nd fire was over I again tried to see Mr. Wakefield on phone but incidently Mr. Wattal phoned to me, whom I related the whole account and requested to arrange Military for patrol of the city. After this I talked with Khalifa Abdul Rahim to the same effect. I again telephoned to State Secretary who was in Karan Bagh and related him the whole story and requested him to submit the information to His Highness.

After Mr. Wakefield and Colonel Sutherland arrived and inspected the spot, the former ordered the latter to go and patrol the city with a party of Cavalry men. Pt. Satya Lal, City Magistrate, was attached to Colonel Sutherland and Pandit Bhim Sain, City Munsiff, (Magistrate 1st class) was detailed to protect Maharajganj, with a number of Military men.

The rest of the Military men were kept in charge of the Jail. About 3-30 p. m. Mr. Wakefield left the Jail and the A. D. M., the Public Prosecutor, Police officers and myself also left for the city. When we reached Maisuma Bazar at Amira Kadal, two men were found shouting loudly that Maharajganj had been looted, and that they also had been looted. Thereupon I went to Maharajganj in the company of D. I. G. of Police and A. S. of Police and saw the shop-keepers looted. Bhagat Karam Chand and Duni Chand while relating their own sad tale to me, said that in Maharajganj, the loot had begun at 2-10 p. m.

EXHIBIT No. 7.

Written Statement of Colonel Ghandharb Singh, Inspector General of Police (Witness No. 2).

During trial of Abdul Qadeer on every hearing Mohammedans used to gather in large numbers outside the Court and on his arrival and departure used to raise slogans of 'Qadeer Zindabad', 'Islam Zindabad' etc. As Abdul Qadeer was always brought and taken from the Court in the Police Van the mob could not follow him. To avoid any untoward act on the part of the Mohammedans the District Magistrate thought it advisable to order that the case be heard in the Jail. Monday the 29th Har 1988 was the first day of hearing of the case in the Jail. As nothing extraordinary was apprehended no special arrangements were made at the Jail except that some constables with Lathies were deputed there to make necessary arrangements. From information received by me it appeared that the mob mustered strong there in thousands and when the Sessions Judge entered the Jail they also tried to force their way into the Jail. They entered the out compound and as the Police force was unable to coup with the situation extra armed guard was requisitioned from the Police Lines. The mob in the meantime went on swelling and

began throwing brick-bats. Three prisoners were being escorted to the Jail by 4 Policemen. The mob assaulted the escort, freed the prisoners, cut the telephone line and severely handled one of the Policemen. The armed posse of the Police reached there and the District Magistrate finding the situation serious ordered firing. The mob set the Police barracks on fire and looted Government property. In the rush made by the crowd, one 'kunda' of the iron gate had been broken. Firing was again resorted under orders of the District Magistrate and the Military aid was also requisitioned. The wounded were removed immediately by the mob. Those who died were taken to the Juma Masjid. It is possible that if given medical aid the number of the dead would have been less. Military arrived about an hour later under the command of the Chief of the Staff. As the mob had gathered on a hillock near the Jail, the Chief of the Staff ordered the Cavalry to disperse it. This was done.

The mob went to Maharajganj *via* Bhuri Kadal looting the Hindu shops en-route. It joined hands with the mob already collected at Ganj on receipt of the news of firing at the Jail. They went on looting until the arrival of the Military. The mob also attacked the Military pickets and patrols at Vicharnag, Douni Kadal, and Nawabazar, when the Military had to fire in defence. At the same time the Hindus of Vicharnag were looted and some of the houses escaped on arrival of the Military there.

Total number of casualties is 12 dead and about 30 men wounded, (16 wounded only by gun shot and the rest received injuries in the rush).

Nine Hindus were admitted in the State hospital for treatment of injuries received at the hands of the mob. One of these died in the hospital.

One dead body of Krishna Munshi Pandit was sent to the hospital for postmortem. The man is said to have also been killed by the mob. There also have been many stray cases of assault on Hindus and Musalmans resulting in injuries.

The approximate estimated loss at Vicharnag is said to be about Rs. 1,00,000 and at Ganj Rs. 7,00,000.

EXHIBIT No. 9.

Translation of Vernacular Statement of Sheikh Aziz Din, Deputy Inspector General of Police (Witness No. 3) dated 27th July 1931.

Owing to the prohibition of *Khutba* (part of Id prayer) on the day of Id-ul-Zuha in Jammu by the local Sub-Inspector of Police, and on account of the sensation caused by the alleged defilement of *Quran Sharif* at Jail Guard Police Lines and on account of the appearance of the sensational articles in the "Kashmiri Musalman" a deep impression was made on Muslim youngmen of the State resulting in the disturbance of the political atmosphere of the country. The agitation began by the appearance of a poster dated 24th Jeth 1988/6th June 1931 on behalf of the Muslims of Kashmir. A meeting of the Muslim public was held in Juma Masjid Srinagar in this connection. It was addressed by

1. Gulam Nabi Gilkar,
2. Sheikh Mohammed Abdulla,
3. Mohammed Bashir,
4. Abdul Rahim,

who delivered speeches calculated to excite hatred and disaffection towards the Government. Speeches of similar type continued to be

delivered in Hazratbal and Juma Masjid. On these occasions Sheikh Mohammed Abdulla and young men of his party delivered speeches stating that Muslims were being extended an unsympathetic treatment whereas the Hindus were being favoured. They pointed out the use of certain mosques as Shali Stores and advised them to prepare for sacrifice. They were further told to clamour about their maltreatment and persecution and defilement of *Quran Sharif* and the policy of keeping them out of the administration. Copies of the detailed reports of these occurrences were received by the Deputy Inspector General of Police and Inspector General of Police to take steps against such proceedings with a view to putting a stop to the delivering of sensational and objectionable speeches. Conscious of the widespreading political movement and the consequent necessity of being alive to it, I kept the whole Police force in a state of readiness for action and issued necessary instructions in the matter and personally supervised their movements.

On 7th Har 1988/21st June 1931, a meeting was held in Khanqah-i-Maula for election of representatives of the public. Towards the close of the meeting one Abdul Qadeer resident of Peshawar and a private employee of a certain visitor Major of the British Army, delivered an objectionable speech. In his speech he defamed the Government and excited Muslims against Hindus. During these very days a rumour was set afloat that a few leaves from the holy Quran and certain sacred persian books had been thrown in a public latrine at the Bana Mohalla in Srinagar city and this act was ascribed to the local Hindu residents. The case is being investigated separately.

On 25th Har 1988/9th July 1931, the District Magistrate read out in the Exhibition ground a declaration from His Highness. On the following day a mammoth meeting of about fifteen thousand Muslims was held in the Juma Masjid. Objectionable speeches were delivered and Mohammed Abdulla and others expressed resentment at the above-mentioned proclamation. The speeches delivered and versus recited were highly sensational, mischievous and were calculated to excite the mob.

On 27th Har 1988/11th July 1931, Mohammed Abdulla, M.Sc. and others delivered speeches in the Batmalloo mosque. The audience was reminded of the historic wars waged by the Mohammedans. They were advised to subscribe for helping the poor and go to prisons and were assured of help from such Muslim leaders as Maulana Shoukat Ali. While the proceedings against Abdul Qadeer were going on in the Court of Sessions Judge many young Muslims would assemble in the court-yard and its premises, and shout slogans such as "Abdul Qadeer Zinda Bad", "Islam Zinda Bad", "Nara Taqbir", "Allah-O-Akbar". It was therefore considered advisable to conduct the hearing of the case in Jail with a view to avoid Muslim demonstration. The date of hearing at Jail was fixed on 29th Har 1988/13th July 1931.

The Assistant Superintendent of Police on the night of 28th Har 1988/12th July 1931, informed me of an unauthentic report that Muslims would assemble at the Jail and that they were thinking of an attack on the Jail. I immediately informed the District Magistrate of it. Next morning the Assistant Superintendent of Police informed me that the rumour regarding the attack lacks confirmation, but that Muslims would assemble near Jail. Accordingly arrangements were made for detailing of proper number of armed Police constables and *Lathi Police* and the Inspector General of Police and District Magistrate were informed of the arrangements. Before my and Assistant Superintendent of Police's arrival at Jail, the Deputy Superintendent of Police and some Police officers and other officials were already there. The District Magistrate also arrived at the same time. It was about 1-30 p. m. when I saw a mob of seven or eight thousand people assembled outside the Jail and raising cries of various slogans. The Deputy Superintendent of Police and other officers made mention of the attack made on the Jail gate and other Jail officials

as well as of the breaking open of the iron hasp. We hurried to the first storey of the Jail gate which serves as office and the District Magistrate began to enquire about the situation and ordered that the Police should arrest the culprits. I was also ordered to assist in this work. Accordingly the Deputy Superintendent of Police and myself with the Police force available effected five arrests. Stones were thrown on us when we proceeded to arrest the culprits and disperse the crowd. The mob was dispersed but again assembled, and commenced showering stones with redoubled vigour. One of our Police constables was brought in severely wounded. The District Magistrate upon this observed that the mob was an unlawful assembly and they may be told so. I informed the mob who did not desist but continued throwing stones. The Police engaged in dispersing was being wounded and the situation grew serious. Realising the gravity of the situation and seeing the mob excited and intent on serious mischief, I came to the conclusion that the mob would overwhelm us and snatch away our weapons and use them against us with deadly effect and may set free the prisoners of the Jail. Just then it was reported that a party of four under-trial prisoners with the Police guard was attacked and that prisoners were set free and the guard belaboured. It was made clear from the excited attitude and behaviour of the mob that it was no easy task to disperse them. Attempts were made to cut off the telephone wires. A cry was raised that the Jail Press was set on fire. The prisoners in the Jail rent the sky with their yells and began to break open windows and attempted to escape. There was every danger that the lives of all the officials present would not be spared. The Deputy Superintendent of Police accordingly requested permission to open fire. The District Magistrate consulted me. I observed that he was witnessing the situation himself, which was becoming very serious and firing seemed necessary. The District Magistrate accordingly ordered firing. Before firing, however, I ordered the mob to disperse and desist from their behaviour. On their disregarding my orders I ordered the Sub-Inspector in charge to fire and 180 buck-shot cartridges were fired. On the dispersal of the crowd which followed, I ordered the firing to stop. No dead bodies were removed in our presence nor were any wounded left behind. After the crowd dispersed the Police Lines were set on fire and looted. However, no further firing was resorted to as the remaining mob was easily dispersed. Thirty-two arrests were made. Meanwhile the Fire-Brigade and Cavalry arrived which had been requisitioned before the telephone wires were cut off. The Superintendent Fire-Brigade stated that an attack by the mob was made on his force as well and his men were wounded. The Army and Political Minister and Colonel Sutherland also arrived and afterwards inspected the spot. They also witnessed the wounded and the arrested. They heard the whole story. The Inspector General of Police also arrived and saw and heard likewise. The Minister issued necessary instructions to the Military and the Police. Thereafter we returned in the company of District Magistrate and Deputy Superintendent of Police. At Amira Kadal we learnt that Maharajganj Bazar was looted. Accordingly we hastened to that spot. The loot, however had ended before we reached there. We inspected the spot and ordered necessary arrangements be made.

EXHIBIT No. 10.

Written Statement of Pandit Gopal Ram Thappa, Superintendent of Police Srinagar (Witness No. 4).

The political atmosphere in Srinagar was disturbed originally by the unfortunate occurrences at Jammu *viz.* the alleged prohibition of the recitation of *Khutba* on the occasion of Id-ul-Zuha by a Sub-Inspector of Police and the alleged profanation of Quran at the Central Jail Police Lines. The news of these two isolated incidents was trans-

mitted to Srinagar by means of posters etc. especially by the Muslim Young Men's Association Jammu which caused considerable excitement among the Muslims of Srinagar. The newspaper "Kashmiri Musلمان" too published most misleading and exaggerated accounts of these occurrences and published articles likely to spread disaffection and disloyalty against His Highness' Government and thus served to accentuate the trouble. The said paper was subsequently proscribed. This was followed by meetings held at Juma mosque and such other religious places where S. M. Abdulla, Abdul Rahim and Gulam Nabi Gilkar etc. the so-called leaders made violent and seditious speeches and carried on propaganda against His Highness' Government and the Hindus. They succeeded in enlisting a considerable portion of the Muslim population as their followers. Timely reports of all such meetings and their proceedings were submitted to the authorities with necessary remarks soliciting permission wherever essential for proceeding against the miscreants legally. In one of these meetings a person named Abdul Qadeer made a seditious speech for which he was subsequently arrested and challaned to the Sessions Court. The tension between the two communities was further aggravated by the two unfortunate occurrences in Srinagar itself *viz.* murder under mysterious circumstances of a minor Hindu girl aged 9 years which was attributed by the Hindu population to a Mohammedan miscreant or miscreants and the recovery of certain Muslim religious books from a public latrine in Bana Mohalla Srinagar which the Mohammedans of Srinagar considered to be the work of Hindu miscreants. Although investigation in both the incidents was taken up by the Police, the feelings between the two communities remained not only strained but were rendered rather worse. On one of these days, a meeting was held by the Governor at Hazratbal to remove the misunderstandings but M. S. Abdulla and his party did not allow the people to attend the same and they achieved their object both by making requests and holding out threats to members of the public who were present on the occasion. On a later date, the Governor read out to the public in the Exhibition grounds the message of His Highness to his beloved people in the form of a proclamation but Mohammed Abdulla and his party created several misunderstandings among the public with regard to it and in a big gathering at Juma mosque subsequently made the people to express their disapproval and thus frustrated the object of the proclamation. The trial of the above-mentioned Abdul Qadeer commenced in the Court of the Sessions Judge which was attended by a large section of the Muslim population mainly consisting of the Muslim young men and volunteers of the organisation set up by M. S. Abdulla and his colleagues who shouted slogans of "Abdul Qadeer Zindabad" etc. in the Court compound and on the public roads. A breach of the peace was apprehended and on recommendation made in this connection the trial of the case was sanctioned to be held at the Central Jail.

On the 29th of Har, 1988 when the trial was to be held at the Central Jail I received information on the phone at about 12 a. m. that a large crowd between 5 and 6 thousand had collected outside the Jail and was raising cries of "Abdul Qadeer Zindabad" etc. This information was immediately communicated to the Deputy Inspector General of Police and he was requested to despatch sufficient Police from the Lines for maintaining law and order at the Jail and to visit the spot himself with the District Magistrate. This being done I accompanied by the Public Prosecutor left for the Jail. On arrival I found a large excited crowd both on the road and in the outer compound of the Jail. The mob tried to obstruct my car at the gate but I drove on. The Sessions Judge had arrived before me and I was informed by the officials present that when the Sessions Judge entered into the Jail through the main gate the mob made a rush, tried to force its way into the Jail and during the struggle one "*kunda*" of the iron gate was broken and Policemen of the Jail guard who tried to push back the crowd were assaulted. It may be remarked here that at the time of this onslaught by the mob

the Police force from the Lines had not arrived but reached there a few minutes before my arrival. I however forthwith communicated with the District Magistrate on the phone and explained to him the whole situation. He told me that he had sent the D. I. G. of Police and the City Munsiff on the spot but I requested him to come personally as the situation appeared serious. In the meanwhile, I turned the people out of the outer Jail compound and a few minutes after the D. I. G. Police and the District Magistrate, the Additional District Magistrate, the City Munsiff and the City Magistrate appeared on the spot. The story of the assault on the Jail gate and the Police guard was told to the District Magistrate by me and the officials present and he ordered arrests to be made. Accordingly D. I. G. and myself with the subordinate staff went into the crowd and started making arrests. This infuriated the already hostile mob and hardly five persons were arrested, when the mob started pelting stones and brick-bats intensively and belaboured the Policemen that persuaded the mob to make arrests. A Lathi charge was led under orders of the District Magistrate but it proved ineffective. A constable returned seriously and mercilessly wounded on the head and was profusely bleeding. The mob persisted in intensive stone-throwing and the situation became serious. The mob was declared unlawful by the District Magistrate and I heard the D. I. G. announcing it as such and warning it to disperse but all in vain as the mob continued throwing stones and made onslaught on the outer wooden gate and broke it. It is noteworthy here that the prisoners inside the Jail got refractory and started breaking windows of the barracks. It was also learned that some prisoners had been released from the custody of the constables who were belaboured and mercilessly beaten. It was also noticed that members of the mob were busy in cutting the telephone lines. At this stage seeing the helplessness of the Police force to disperse the crowd otherwise than by firing, I requested the D. M. for permission to open fire. He consulted the D. I. G. Police who agreed with my suggestion. Under orders of the District Magistrate the fire was opened and the D. I. G. himself directed the firing as a result of which the mob dispersed. But it was learnt that the Police barracks outside the Jail gate had been looted and set fire to. The Fire Brigade was therefore requisitioned but soon after that it was seen that the telephone lines had been cut. However information of the situation had in the meanwhile been given to the higher authorities by the District Magistrate and Military aid requisitioned. As a result of firing, although the crowd dispersed yet a portion of it was seen standing in front of the Police barracks and on the road. A Lathi charge was then led and this portion of the mob was chased away and further arrests were made. The Fire Brigade arrived at this time and extinguished the fire. Soon after the Cavalry arrived and was detailed out by the District Magistrate to disperse the portion of the crowd that had taken its stand on the hillock of Hari Perbat. Soon after, the Army and Political Minister with Brigadier Southerland, the I. G. P. and a Military detachment arrived on the scene. The whole affair was explained to the Army and Political Minister by the District Magistrate and the D. I. G. and they saw the injured Policemen, broken "*kunda*" of the iron gate (then repaired), Jail compound full of stones and brick-bats, the burnt and looted barracks and the broken outer wooden gate. No wounded or dead person was found on spot. After posting Military guard at the Jail, I returned with the District Magistrate and the D. I. G. P. but on arrival at Amira Kadal, we learnt that Maharajganj had been looted and we all proceeded to that place. On arrival we found that a number of Hindu shops had been completely looted. The Military had arrived by that time and necessary arrangements were made to guard against further mischief. I remained there throughout the night. It was late at night that I heard about the loot and plunder at Vicharnag as well.

EXHIBIT No. 12.

**Written Statement of Pandit Sudarshan Koul, Assistant Superintendent of Police
(Witness No. 6).**

The present situation started by the Muslim youths of Srinagar, particularly by Mr. M. S. Abdulla may be said to have its origin outside Kashmir. The Vernacular newspapers chiefly "Siasat", "Inqilab" and "Kashmiri Musalman" since proscribed and the speeches of men like Sir Mohammad Iqbal in India poisoned the educated minds of the Muslims of Kashmir. The Punjabi Musalmans have been for a long time secretly educating the Muslims of Kashmir to agitate but owing to existence of laws, prohibiting holding of meetings, and also owing to the natural dread of the consequences, and no popular grievances to offer, the movement remained dormant. It actually started in March last, when a meeting of Hindus and Mohammedans was held in the house of Pandit Balkak Dar, where notables of both communities were invited and it was proposed to give a joint tea party to His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur on his arrival from Europe, on the occasion of the auspicious birth of the heir-apparent. Immediately after this meeting was held, divisions were made and the Mohammedan youths snatching the opportunity resolved to give a separate tea party and began to collect subscriptions right earnestly. Meetings were held frequently in houses under the guise of arranging tea parties, but in actuality politics were discussed broadly. The first attempt made was to oust men like M. Asad Ullah, and Mirza Mustafa etc. who were influential and whom the people trusted, and to raise the popular opinion against them. In this they succeeded. These meetings emboldened the conveners until speeches were delivered to the people on Fridays in mosques and at Hazratbal attracting the attention of the people to their side. Mr. M. S. Abdulla and his lieutenants grew bolder and bolder, began to deliver speeches which could not but produce abnoxious effect. By means of irresponsible youths propaganda was started and people were made to understand that the Government was against them. The uneducated masses could not understand the political and economic situation, so every effort was made to appeal to their religious feelings. Facts were misrepresented to the people and they were told that they were great sufferers, and efforts were being made by them to compel the Government to start industries and find employment for the unemployed. The people were told that the Quran-i-Sharif had been insulted at Jammu and in Srinagar also, mosques had been confiscated by the Government, and no heed was paid to Mohammedan shrines, unlike Hindu sacred places, where Government had constructed roads and depute Medical and Police help on the occasion of festivals. Speeches were made in a round about way impressing the people that the Hindus of Srinagar were opposed to their religious and economic development. The Bana Mohalla affair wherein it is alleged that the Quran-i-Sharif was insulted, was brought to the notice of the people, and a great advantage was taken of this incident. Mr. M. S. Abdulla, the chief leader expressed that this insult was made by the Pandits. It is yet a mystery to me whether actually parts of Quran-i-Sharif were found from the latrine, or it was a made-up affair, made to serve the political purposes of the agitators. The parts of Quran-i-Sharif, said to have been found at Bana Mohalla were picked up by a Mohammedan, who without showing it to the Police or any Hindu threw it into the river. I do not think they would have done this act had the printed matter, whatever it was been actually the parts of Quran-i-Sharif. Anyhow this matter is being investigated by the D. S. P., Srinagar and I do not know what his opinion is. The Police have also been suspected of having taken part in this insult, probably at the instigation of the Government. In this way the feelings of the people have been roused and a general mass awakening was the result. Mr. M. S. Abdulla began to be looked at by

the people as a great man whose claims the Government had ignored. Finding that the Government was not catching him they believed his words. His lieutenants also delivered speeches and told the people that large number of people was ready to sacrifice for the community and the religion. The speeches generally commenced with recitation of verses from Quran-i-Sharif and every time the religious feeling of the people were roused and they were made to understand that their religion was not safe. The present economic conditions of the country especially the set back of the carpet industry which threw large number of men out of employment afforded a favourable opportunity to the present movement. The agitation in Jammu added chiefly to the zeal of the agitators in Srinagar. They were in constant correspondence with the Srinagar people. The paper "Kashmiri Musalman" which misrepresented facts was also distributed in the city. Posters of seditious nature were now and then posted at different places in the city. Volunteers were enrolled in Srinagar and collection of subscriptions was started, and all sorts of rumours were set current in the city. All this could not but produce a harmful effect. All the while the Punjabi Mohammedans encouraged secretly the Muslim young agitators of Srinagar.

The people were told that His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur had agreed to hear the demands of the people, and a deputation of representatives of Jammu and Srinagar will wait on His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur. Permission was given to the young men to hold a meeting at Khankah-i-Maula, where seven representatives of Muslim community were selected and appointed. The representatives selected included both the Mir Waizes and Khawaja Saad Shala, the influential men of Srinagar, which gave great impetus to the movement and encouraged the people to agitate. A short while afterwards the so-called Jammu representatives arrived in Srinagar, and they were garlanded and received at Batwara by nearly all the representatives mentioned above. The activities of the Mir Waizes was a great encouragement to the people and a source of gratification to the youngmen that they had succeeded in their aims. A sort of unity between the two Maulvis and the Mir Waizes was effected apparently for political purposes.

The Hindus of Srinagar were naturally alarmed by this movement. The orders of the Government stopping recruitment of all posts by the Departmental Heads and giving powers to the Recruiting Board to make appointments with due regards to all communities made the Muslim youths to think that the Government had felt the pressure and began to yield to their demands. This greatly discouraged the Hindus who began to murmur and saw that their future hopes were blighted and time was coming when they will be crushed by the Muslims. They did not however, give vent openly to these sentiments hoping all the while that the Government will always protect them. An unfortunate incident of the brutal murder of a Hindu girl aged 9 years at Kanya Kadal shocked the Hindu feelings in Srinagar. The result was that on the day of the cremation of the girl thousands of Hindus collected outside the State hospital and in a procession followed the bier bear-headed. This being being a funeral procession it was not stopped and the District Magistrate declared the route by which the procession should pass. The Hindus were also made to understand that they should peacefully follow the bier and go by the route declared. The processionists, however, did not follow the route and they were by force and Lathi charges repelled and compelled to follow the route originally declared. Nothing untoward beyond this happened on that day. But the feelings between the two communities were embittered though no assaults were made. The Hindus in a large gathering held meeting next day and expressed abhorrence at the brutal murder committed. They demanded protection and in a way expressed that they did not consider themselves safe. The Arya Samaj annual meetings fell also during these troubled days. The Hindus in large numbers unlike previous years followed the Nagar

Kirtan in a procession peacefully. This was also one of the causes which estranged the relations between the two communities, who began now to view each other with suspicion.

Finally the proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur announced in Hazoori Bagh to an audience of over 10,000 instead of producing a statutory effect gave in the hands of Muslim youths a cause to rouse the popular feelings more bitterly. The Hindus were in a majority satisfied and pleased to hear that no favour will be shown to any community but justice will reign supreme in the country. The Muslim audience seemed on hearing the proclamation there to some extent satisfied, but as soon as they dispersed the propagandists did everything in their power to make the people go against it. The people were told that His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur and his Government were opposed to grant any favour or concession to the Muslim community and that His Highness himself had declared that the Muslim religion was in danger. All facts were misrepresented and people were made entirely hostile to the Government.

The facts briefly mentioned above may be said to be in my opinion the chief causes which led to the creation of the present situation. The notables lost influence and they dared not intervene. Most of the Mohammedan as well as the Shia Sect remained aloof and did not like disturbance of peace. But no effort was made by them to preserve the same. Non-payment of taxes by the villagers and others was one of the aims of the youngmen. It was a movement openly against the Government fostered by ulterior objects. The general belief created was that the British Government and the whole Mohammedan population of India were in favour of this movement. The presence of Jammu leaders in Srinagar augmented the agitation and made the ignorant people to grow bolder and bolder every day, and think that the Government will soon be changed.

At Khankah-i-Muala, Abdul Qadeer of Peshawar, bearer to an European Lady visitor delivered a seditious speech action against whom was taken under the law. He was arrested and put on trial before the Sessions Judge. In the beginning no interest was taken in his arrest, but as soon as the trial began people in large numbers assembled in and near the Court and gave expressions to different slogans. As the trial commenced each day, the people also began to assemble in great numbers every day. Thinking that there may not be a breach of peace, and the movement may not spread wide, it was suggested to the District Magistrate that the trial may be held in the Central Jail. The first hearing of the case was to take place in the Jail on the 29th Har 1988. The young men somehow or other obtained this news. On the 28th Har at about 10 in the evening I got information from independent source that house to house propaganda was being made and people were advised to go to Jail next day, observe *hartal*, and in a non-violant way force their admission into the Jail and hear the trial. I did not get any such information from the local Police. Directly I went to the D. I. G., and gave him this information. Both he and myself then went to the District Magistrate and communicated to him the news. It was suggested by me that reserve force might be sent to the Jail and kept in readiness there for use if necessary. I was told to verify the news if possible. I came to know from independent source again that people will collect in large numbers etc., near Jail but from the local Police I did not get any such information. I also heard the people were told, that the accused will be convicted on that day. The next morning I saw D. I. G. again and told him all that I knew. For my own part I instructed the Police officer, Sri Ranbir Ganj bazar that Policemen should all remain present in uniforms in their respective Police posts, and also directed the Sub-Inspector to carefully watch the movement and report as soon as he smelt any breach of peace and mass gathering. When I got the news that people were gathering in large numbers outside the Jail premises, I gave this

information forthwith to the D. I. G. and the D. S. P., D. I. G. and myself went to see the District Magistrate in his office. The D. S. P. left for Jail and said that he will take along with him a Magistrate from the Court. After having informed the District Magistrate of everything then known, we went to the Jail. The District Magistrate also arrived in the meanwhile. We found that a mob of over six or seven thousand men had gathered outside and were giving vent to different slogans. On arrival we came to know that the people had tried to force open the Jail gate and even broken the gate and assaulted the Policemen. The force from the Lines had also in the meanwhile arrived. After a few minutes consultation the District Magistrate ordered that the rioters may be arrested. As soon as we approached with the force near the mob they dispersed and several arrests were made by the Police. The mob then returned and tried to rush again at the Police. They threw brick-bats and stones at the Policemen injuring some of them and the situation seemed to grow worse. It was feared, of which there was every likelihood, that the desperate mob would over-power the Police then present, and rush into the Jail, and release the prisoners who had also in the meanwhile become much excited. The D. S. P. and D. I. G. then asked the District Magistrate to order to open fire as the situation was serious, which permission he gave. After the assembly was declared unlawful the fire was opened and the people dispersed only temporarily, but continued to throw stones, brick-bats etc., at the Police. Some of the hooligans cut the telephone lines, set fire to the Police barrack and looted the property of the Policemen. Meanwhile the District Magistrate phoned and ordered for Military help. The wounded men went towards city crying different slogans in a great rush. I did not see anyone dying on the spot but was told that two or three men who had died were taken by the mob on *charpoys* looted, on their shoulders towards the city. Those people who still remained outside the Jail throwing stones were kept back by the Police, until arrival of the Military. As soon as the Military arrived the Police and Military pickets were sent to the city to guard against untoward happenings as I had told the District Magistrate and the D. I. G. that the rioters might have created panic in the city and serious things might have been happening there. The Political Minister and the I. G. Police also arrived on the spot. Later I heard that the mob had paraded the streets in the city below 4th Bridge and incited the people to violent acts. The people were told that hundreds had been killed by Hindus. Shops were looted, Hindus assaulted wherever found and a general panic prevailed. Part of the mob had passed through my house which is situated on the 3rd Bridge and they attacked it also though not seriously. Some men went towards Vicharnag also and incited the people towards that side who made havoc of the Hindus living there and harrowing details have since been heard and put on record by the investigating officers. As soon as the Military and Police arrived in the city the looting ceased and the situation was brought under control, though stray assaults were reported here and there. Much of the looted property was thrown into the river and some burnt. Some property which was thrown on roads etc. has since been collected by the Police and the Military. Reports of two Pandits who had succumbed to the injuries inflicted by the assailants were received by me, the time I was in charge city. *Hartal* has been observed throughout and all sorts of wrong and misleading rumours have been set afloat by the mischievous people in the city. People are panic stricken and there is absolute lack of trust between the two communities. The Mohammedans in general have been given to understand that the Government is also very much against them. Propaganda is going on to induce the Muslims to make counter reports of loot and assault against Hindus and Military men.

EXHIBIT No. 14.

**Written statement of Pandit Bhim Sain, City Magistrate Srinagar (Witness No. 7)
dated 30th July 1931.**

I have been working here as a Magistrate 1st class for the last two years. I have not been incharge of any particular Thana or area and have been doing such work as was entrusted to me.

The first time when I was deputed in connection with the agitation which resulted in the recent riots, was 12th Har 1938 when I attended a meeting in Juma Masjid and which was addressed by Mr. Abdulla, and others. I reported all that happened there (*vide* my report of 13th Har) to the Additional District Magistrate. The speech of Mr. Abdulla was seriously objectionable and offended against certain provisions of penal law.

On 29th Har I was deputed by Additional District Magistrate at about 1 p. m. to go to Jail Srinagar where, I was told, it had been reported to the District Magistrate that a mob had collected. I reached there at 1-30 p. m. I found the District Superintendent and an Inspector Police with a Police force there. The Police force there was of two kinds. A section of about 20 constables with arms which I was told had first arrived before me, and another party of constables who were there on Jail duty. Superintendent Police told me that before he had arrived there had been an attack on the Jail gate and the mob had attempted to force their way inside in Jail and had broken the iron gate in that attempt. Outside the Jail and just opposite to it I saw a mob of about five or six thousand people. They were in an excited mood, were shouting cries such as *زندہ باد* etc. The Jail gate was being repaired and the Sessions Judge, Court Inspector, counsels for the accused were inside the gate in the upper storey. I was told that the District Magistrate was coming and the Superintendent Police has asked for more force which was also coming. In about fifteen minutes the District Magistrate, Additional District Magistrate and the D. I. G. P. arrived and the District Magistrate was informed of all that had happened. He enquired from the Jail staff and other officers of the Police present at the time of the first attack as to the details and decided that the persons who had made the attack should be arrested. The Deputy Inspector-General Police and Superintendent Police went down to make arrests. The moment the 'arrests' were started the mob became violent, resisted arrests, threw stones, and belaboured the constables, seriously wounding two of them. A Lathi charge was ordered but did not prove successful and only drove the mob to a little distance from where they began throwing stones more than before. By this time several Policemen had been wounded, the telephone wire was being violently shaken and it was apprehended that they would be cut. It was feared that the small Police force would be over-powered. The prisoners inside the Jail became rowdy and began making huge noise and trying to smash windows from inside. The District Magistrate then ordered fire to be opened. Firing was opened twice and after the second firing which was longer the mob left that place and went and stopped at a distance. The mob had, during this struggle or immediately before it, rescued four prisoners that were being escorted from the Courts by three constables, one Sikh, one Mohammedan and one Pandit and belaboured all the three constables seriously wounding the Pandit constable. They also set fire to a part of the Jail building and looted the Police Lines. Urgent messages on phone were sent before the wires were cut for the Fire Brigade and Military which arrived meantime after the second firing. The fire was soon distinguished and the Additional District Magistrate and an officer of the Police sent to the Police Line to prevent further loot-

ing. Of the Military force the first to arrive was a section of the Cavalry about 25 horsemen, 15 of them were asked to charge and disperse the mob still standing at a distance. Soon after some Infantry arrived there. Mr. Wakefield and Colonel Sutherland also arrived and after having heard of the whole affair detailed Pandit Satya Lal and myself with two Military parties to go to the town where trouble was apprehended. I went with 19 Infantry to Maharajganj *via* Bhuri Kadal. Several shops had been looted in that quarter and there was great excitement. I stationed 8 men for patrolling that quarter and proceeded to Maharajganj where I arrived at 3-45 or a few minutes later but before 4 p. m. I found that attempt had been made to loot the post-office, several Hindu shops had been looted near about in Ganj proper. The actual loot had practically stopped. There was, however, intense excitement. I phoned for more Military and Police. Colonel Nawab Khusru Jung and Colonel Sutherland passed the Ganj patrols at the head of a Cavalry section. Military began arriving from 4-20 p. m. Efforts were then made to remove panic, make arrests, recover property and avoid further assaults that were being reported. By about 7 p. m. the situation was very much relieved. The District Magistrate, the Inspector and Deputy Inspector, Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent Police arrived and the place was visited by Mr. Wakefield, Nawab Sahib, Thakur Sardar Kartar Singh Ji and other high officials. The Police officers named above and the Brigadier stopped there the whole night and the order under Section 144 Criminal Procedure Code was promulgated.

I was relieved at about 8 p. m. next morning by the Additional District Magistrate and stopped there during every night and some part of the day for 4 days after which I was put on other duties in connection with the disturbance.

EXHIBIT No. 14.

Written Statement of Ch. Bhagat Ram, Additional District Magistrate, Kashmir (Witness No. 9).

I took charge of the post of Additional District Magistrate on the 4th of Har 1988. On the 6th of Har I was informed by the District Magistrate that a meeting was to be held in Khanqah-Muala on the 7th Har 1988, and that the City Magistrate be deputed to attend the meeting.

Pandit Satya Lal the then City Magistrate was directed to do so and he attended the meeting.

It is said that after the regular meeting was over, some Abdul Qadeer delivered some speech which is said to be seditious and about which criminal proceedings are pending in the Sessions Court.

On the 11th Har 1988, a meeting was held at Juma Masjid and I was deputed by the District Magistrate to attend the meeting.

In that meeting Mr. Shafiq-ul-Rahman of Delhi delivered a speech on education and exhorted the people to stand united.

Mr. Abdulla, M. sc. followed him and delivered a speech which had a tendency to cause public excitement and promote feelings of hatred between the two communities in the long run. I reported to the District Magistrate that these persons abuse the sanctity of the mosque, something should be done to prevent that abuse, otherwise it might become difficult to check their undesirable activities.

On the 12th Har 1988 another meeting was held in Juma Masjid and Pandit Bhim Sain was deputed, he reported that Mr. Abdulla's speech was objectionable, that report in original was sent to the District Magistrate.

Then came the kidnapping of a Pandtani girl Durgi, aged 9 years whose dead body was afterwards discovered. Procession of the dead body was taken out on 15th Har 1988, and I, under the orders of the District Magistrate, deputed Pandit Satya Lal, City Magistrate to accompany the procession.

On the 16th Har 1988, a meeting of the Hindus was held in Rugh Nath Mandir and I was deputed by the District Magistrate to attend and to warn the conveners that no inflammatory speeches were to be delivered. The meeting was peaceful and three Resolutions were unanimously passed to the following effect:—

1. The Hindus of Kashmir condemn the brutal and cowardly conduct of those who kidnapped, confined and murdered the girl Durgi and ask the Government to appoint an efficient and capable Police officer to investigate the matter and to trace the culprit.
2. The Hindus of Kashmir resent the Lathi charge that is made by the Police on the funeral procession of Durgi and notice that this treatment is in antogonistic contrast with the treatment meted out to other communities.
3. A non-official committee was appointed to enquire into and report upon the circumstances of the Lathi charge.

On the 19th Har 1988, I was deputed by the District Magistrate to attend a meeting in Juma Masjid.

The District Magistrate informed me that the Jammu & Srinagar Mohammedan representatives had been refused audience by His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur for the present and that I had been deputed to see that there should not be any inflammatory speeches today and that no procession was to be allowed in the following of any representative.

Before the proceedings commenced I warned the conveners that there should not be any inflammatory speech and before the meeting dispersed I warned the public through Mr. Abdulla that no procession was to be formed today and that the people should go peacefully to their homes.

These directions were complied with. The speakers said that it is true that they are not given their full rights but they need not be disappointed for His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur has proclaimed His Highness' religion to be justice and His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur would give them their rights as soon as the matter was put before His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur. No Minister (referring to a particular Minister) can put off or detain their papers indefinitely.

On the 29th of Har 1988, while I was in my Court the District Magistrate told me on phone that the Sessions Judge was to hold Court in Central Jail to hear the case Crown *versus* Abdul Qadeer and that the City Munsiff (Magistrate 1st class) be deputed to be on spot.

I sent for the Munsiff (Pandit Bhim Sainji) and deputed him accordingly. About half an hour after the District Magistrate phoned me to keep ready for he was going to the Jail and that I should accompany him. A few minutes latter the District Magistrate came to my Court and took me along.

We reached Central Jail at about 1-45 p. m. We saw huge number of people in an open place outside the precincts of the Jail but just in front of it. They were shouting slogans of قدیر زندہ باد - اللہ اکبر

At the Central Jail the District Superintendent of Police and the Jailor related to the District Magistrate that the mob had come into the Jail precincts and pressed their way so far as the iron gate, assaulted the Jail constables on duty and attempted to break into the Jail. The Jailor showed a detached *kunda* that it had been detached from the gate on account of the forcible shaking of the gate by the mob.

The District Magistrate after hearing the events ordered the arrests of the assailants who could be identified.

The Deputy Inspector General of Police, District Superintendent of Police, Inspector of Police, one C. I. D. Sub-Inspector of Police etc., went out to make arrest. They commenced arresting persons and the mob gathered around them and became very furious. The mob assaulted and beat the constables, pelted stones, shouted various sorts of slogans and showed rowdyism.

The mob was commanded to disperse but that would not disperse and showed a determination not to disperse. Lathi charge was ordered by the District Magistrate but that did not prove very effective for the mob scattered on all the front sides of the Jail outside the range of the Lathi charge and continued throwing stones and brick-bats in such large numbers that it was a regular strong shower of stones. These stones hit many constables and Police officers and they were injured. One of the constables was seriously injured and was bleeding. The scene was very horrible. The District Superintendent of Police requested the District Magistrate for an order to fire. The Deputy Inspector General of Police concurring, the District Magistrate ordered fire.

The Police officers went below and arranged and directed firing. Firing was done twice. The result of firing was that stone throwing stopped and the mob dispersed, the rioters leaving the front side of the Jail possibly went towards the right flank of the Jail, for at about that time it was reported that the mob had looted the Jail Police Lines and set fire to it. The District Magistrate was all this time giving information on the phone to the authorities about the serious situation that had arisen. The telephonic wires were shaking vehemently showing that the mob was trying to break them. The rioters succeeded after all, the wires were broken and we were cut off from the outside world.

The situation just in front of the Jail having come under control, the District Magistrate ordered me to accompany the Police and to drive the mob away from the Police Lines where they were reported to be doing mischief. The Deputy Inspector General of Police and I went. We took constables (armed with Lathis and muskets) with us. We saw a mob near the Police Lines which were burning and the mischievous amongst the mob were doing mischief. We located the Police at a distance of about 50 yards, the constables were drawn in double ranks, the front rank was armed with Lathis and the rear rank with muskets. We ordered the front rank to make a bold rush at the mob and the rear rank to be ready for help.

The bold and desperate dash and rush of the Police proved effective and the mob took to their heels. But after some minutes they neared again. We ordered another chase and this had to be repeated three or four times. Each chase dislocated the mob from its stand and it went back and back so far that it was practically cleared off.

While we were doing this, the Fire-Brigade arrived and extinguished the fire.

Then came a platoon of Cavalry. The District Magistrate asked the Officer-in-charge to leave some Sowars there and march the rest through the bazar towards the Juma Masjid.

Then came the Infantry. Afterwards Mr. Wakefield and Colonel Southerland arrived.

The District Magistrate and the Deputy Inspector General of Police narrated the events to them.

Then two parties were formed, that they may march through the city. With one party Pandit Bhim Sain was deputed and with the other Pandit Satya Lal, City Magistrate. The District Magistrate and I left for Amira Kadal, while passing through Amira Kadal we received an information that there has been loot and decoities at Maharajganj. The District Magistrate left for that place and instructed me to draft an order under Section 144 and to make arrangements for its promulgation. I did the needful.

EXHIBIT No. 17.

Written Statement of Pt. Kishen Lal Kichlu (Witness No. 10) officiating Sessions Judge Kashmir, dated 30th July 1931.

The case against Abdul Qadeer was being tried by me and during the trial a large number of people attended the Court. The District Magistrate in his letter No. 83/C, dated 11th July 1931, suggested, that the trial might be held in the Jail, as the public was making great demonstrations when the accused was brought to, and taken back, from the Court. After obtaining the orders of the Honourable the Chief Justice, it was arranged to hold the trial in the Central Jail Srinagar and the District Magistrate was requested to make proper arrangements for holding the Court there. In accordance with the above arrangement I started for the Central Jail at about mid-day on 13th July 1931/29th Har 1988 to try the above noted case there.

At some distance from the Central Jail a mob consisting of hundreds of Mohammedans was blocking the road and it was with difficulty that a passage could be made for my car to pass through. Just after my arrival at the Jail the mob, collected at the outer gate of the Central Jail, and disregarding the directions of the Police to remain outside, entered the compound of the Jail. I directed the Jailor to inform District Magistrate and Deputy Inspector General of Police of the situation on the telephone which he at once did. He told me that he had informed the Superintendent of Jail as well. On my suggestion L. Nanak Chand, Pir Qamar Din and Maulvi Mohammed Abdulla, pleaders for the accused, and Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, B. A., LL. B., who had come to watch the proceedings, addressed the mob exhorting them to be peaceful and to remain outside the Jail precincts. After sometime people began to move and some people went out. It was then arranged to hold the sitting in the office room of the Jail above the main entrance, instead of in the barrack outside, as originally intended, for it was not considered safe to take the accused out of the main gate. I accordingly went to the office room and made necessary arrangements for holding the Court there. The District Superintendent Police, who was the complainant in the case and had arrived soon after I reached there, telephoned to District Magistrate and Deputy Inspector General of Police asking them to come at once and to send Police reinforcements immediately as the Police force at the Jail was quite inadequate.

The Additional District Magistrate and Munsiff arrived shortly after this as also the District Magistrate, the Deputy Inspector General of Police and the Superintendent of Jail.

I was in the office room on the first floor with pleaders and others and the arrangements for starting work had almost been completed when there was some commotion in the compound below. Some wounded Police constables were seen entering the Jail, there was a shower of stones etc. on the Police in the compound by the mob collected close to outer gate and some Police constables and officials were hit by these stones. I heard the District Magistrate eventually ordering the Police to open fire on the mob. The Police accordingly opened fire. The mob was obstinate and continued throwing stones etc. The Jail guard barrack was set on fire, the telephone wires were also cut somewhere and the telephone connection of the Jail was severed. The rioters were later on driven away by the Police before the arrival of the Military.

EXHIBIT No. 19.

Copy of Jailor's Journal No. 738 and 739, dated the 29th Har 1988 (Witness No. 9).

REPORT No. 738.

I beg to report that the Sessions Judge, Kashmir arrived at the Jail at about 1 p. m. for conducting further hearing of the case *State versus Abdul Qadeer* under Sections 103 and 120-B, R. D. B. within the Jail walls of the Central Jail Srinagar. The civil ward had already been vacated for the purpose. All the mob which had collected outside, followed the the Judge into the Jail compound by breaking the wooden gate near the armoury. The compound was full of these men who were highly excited, and could not be turned out by the Police force on duty. More and more outside people were forcibly pouring in until the crowd in and outside the compound swelled to about 5,000 in number. The Sessions Judge finding all this, asked the counsel of the accused Maulvi Abdulla, and M. Qumar-ud-Din to subside the agitated mob, who requested them to go out of the compound. On this the mob left the compound but all of them collected by the roadside, and in the Jail almond garden. But, with all that they were crying "Abdul Qadeer Zindabad, Islam Zindabad" and so forth. I took the Sessions Judge from the Court room, and admitted him to the Jail office, on the upper storey. The Sessions Judge phoned up the Superintendent Police, the Deputy Inspector General of Police and District Magistrate, that they should come to the Jail, as the mob which was getting excited and making great noise had re-entered the Jail compound in large number. The mob attacked the outer main-gate of the Jail by exerting their utmost force, subsequently, breaking one of the iron sockets (*kunda*) of the main gate, which was shown to all the officers on the spot who had arrived at the Jail (District Magistrate, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Superintendent Police and yourself). This fact was also brought to the notice of the Minister in charge of Army and Police by you.

The Police force who were busy in clearing the mob at the outer-gate of the compound were attacked by the unruly and furious mob, with stones and brick-bats, which caused serious and minor injuries to two Head-constables and eight constables, who were rendered prompt medical aid by the Jail Sub-Assistant Surgeon.

The pressure at the gate was very great, and it was with great difficulty that we could tide over the crisis as explained below :—

Finding himself in such serious position when the Police could not control the mob with Lathi charge, which he had ordered the District Magistrate further ordered to recognise and arrest the persons who were responsible for the whole trouble. As soon as the Police went out to capture these men, they were attacked with stones and brick-bats. The Police used Lathi now, but as this could be of no avail in controlling the situation, the District Magistrate eventually ordered finding the situation extremely in danger to use firearms, which the Police did. The mob cleared away from the front and were busy at the Police Lines, which they looted, and damaged and set fire to it. The Military which was phoned up for help several times by the District Magistrate arrived at 3-20 p. m., before which the mob had taken to heels. The fire engine arrived soon, and the fire was extinguished. Thirty two arrests were made then and there, and accommodated in Barrack No. 2 under the orders of the District Magistrate. On the admission of these arrests in the Jail, all the prisoners of the Jail, who had already been locked up in barracks in view of the serious situation outside got much excited, and made a great hue and cry. They also tried to break open the barracks, in so much so that bricks of one of the windows of the latrine of Barrack No. 5 were removed by Ahad Mochi, Saddiq Goru, and Ramzan Doom prisoners. The following prisoners are reported to have excited the prisoners in barracks who made great noise as noticed by you also:—

- (1) Subhan Vagge, (2) Ramzan Ghanai, (3) Ahad Mochi, (4) Siddiq Goru, (5) Ramzan Doom, (6) Subhan Lon, and (7) Qadir Lela.

All these prisoners have been ordered to be kept separate in cells subject to your confirmation. The following officers also attended the Jail for the occasion, but the timing of their arrival could not be observed on account of extreme confusion :—

- (1) Additional District Magistrate, (2) City Magistrate, (3) City Munsiff, (4) Assistant Superintendent of Police, (5) Public Prosecutor and (6) Court Inspector. Besides these the counsel of the accused were present.

At about 4 p. m. the situation was well in hand, when the Minister in charge of the Army and Police deputed different batches of Military and Police on different sites in the city. Thereafter all the officers who had come for the occasion left the Jail. Sixty four Military soldiers were detained in and out of the Jail by the Captain in charge of the Military force.

It will not be out of place to note that the telephonic connections of Jail and Fort, were cut down by the mob, when they found the District Magistrate phoning up every where.

REPORT No. 739.

At the time of lock-up it was ascertained that 4 prisoners namely Zaman Shah, Ghulam Hussan Shah, Feroz and Sher Ahmad who were sent out to attend the High Court of Judicature on Peshi under the Police custody were missing. The Police constables who had escorted them, reported that the prisoners were let loose and made to escape by the mob returning from the Jail near Kathi Darwaza. These constables were beaten by the mob as they would not allow the prisoners to escape. Under your orders they were admitted into the hospital and are under the treatment of the Jail Sub-Assistant Surgeon.

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT KASHMIR JAILS,
SRINAGAR.

No. 2931, dated Srinagar, the 30th July 1931.

Copy of the above submitted to the Secretary Enquiry Commission, Srinagar for information as desired by him, in his letter No. 113, dated the 27th July 1931, to the address of the Jailer, Central Jail, Srinagar.

(Sd.) H. L. TIKKU,

M. B., ch. B. (Edin),

Superintendent Kashmir Jails.

EXHIBIT No. 20.

**Written Statement of Abdul Majid, Superintendent Fire Brigade, Srinagar
(Witness No. 12), dated 30th July 1931.**

On 13th, July 1931, at about 2-15 p. m. a telephone message was received from the Central Jail, that a fire had broken out in the Jail buildings.

I therefore turned out immediately with 275 Gallon Hatfield Pump, transmitting the call at the same time to Maharajganj and Rainawari sub-stations to attend.

On the way near Kathi Darwaza a mob was standing which shouted and tried to come in the way of the engine but seeing that it was running at a very high speed did not dare to stand, and I arrived at the Jail safely in a short time.

The roof of the Police Line adjacent the Jail was burning in its western corner, which was extinguished promptly with a Portable Hand Pump by the firemen climbing to the seat of fire.

During all this time I was anxiously waiting for the Rainawari sub-station, which had a lighter engine and which I wanted to fix on the tank inside the Jail for meeting any further emergency.

Moreover the Jail premises lie in the area belonging to Rainawari sub-station, and being nearest to it, it ought to have reached long before.

I therefore tried to inquire on the telephone the cause of delay from Rainawari sub-station, but the telephone wires having been cut off by this time, no communication could be made.

I therefore sent a fireman to ask the Rainawari station to come soon.

Just then a helmet belonging to the Brigade, was brought by a Police lorry arriving at the Jail, and Lala Baij Nath, Reserve Inspector, Police Training School, in handing over the said helmet to me, remarked that he had found it lying on the road, and thinking that it might have fallen down from one of my engines, had picked it up. But on looking in the inner side of the helmet, I found a thin cloth cap, which was badly covered with blood. This roused my suspicions, and as I was returning to the Head-quarters' Fire Engine, I saw two firemen belonging to the Rainawari sub-station running bare headed towards me. They then related to me the sad lot that had befallen them. They had been stopped near Kathi Darwaza by the mob, and had been badly beaten and pelted with stones. Their Station Officer Pt. Sudarshan Tikkoo, and two

firemen Balak Ram and Bishamber Nath, who were Pandits had been severely wounded, and they were afraid might have been killed by now. Just then two more men from Maharajganj station arrived, and related that a similar fate had befallen them near Saraf Kadal. Their appliance had been damaged, and their Station Officer Pt. Tara Chand, and a fireman Ganesh Dass were missing.

I thus became very anxious about the above men, and requested the Governor to help me, in locating them, as it was not possible to go alone in the mob. The Governor while realizing my difficulties and sympathising with me, told me, that he was helpless till the arrival of Military when he would be able to give me some armed soldiers.

My apprehensions however were growing worse every moment, and as I could not wait any longer, I thrust myself into an armed Police lorry that was going towards the city.

Near Kathi Darwaza the mob began to throw brick-bats on the lorry and the Police inside opened fire and the lorry passed safely.

I was however unable to find any one of my missing men on the way or near the site of affray, and I therefore reached Rainawari sub-station in the hope that some one of them might have returned to the station. But none of them had reached there so far.

I then searched them in their houses but they were not to be found even there.

It was not possible for me now to return alone through the mob to the Central Jail, and I therefore reached Head-quarters as the Police lorry was going that way, in the hope that I may get a seat in a Military lorry going towards Central Jail.

On telephoning from Head-quarters I got the information that the men missing belonging to Rainawari sub-station, had been located, and arrived in the Rainawari Station but had been severely wounded.

As it was not possible to get an Ambulance Car I took the Fire Brigade tender to the Rainawari Station, and after taking the gear out of it, managed to prepare two beds for laying two men inside it.

Sudarshan Tikkoo, Station Officer, and Balak Ram, fireman, had received injuries on the head, and were therefore rendered first-aid, and laid comfortably inside the Motor tender and Bishamber Nath who had only received sprains was laid on the Motor tender. They were then slowly brought to the hospital, where they were got properly treated, and admitted as indoor patients.

It was gratifying to know that none of the wounds they had received was serious.

They have fared very well in the hospital, and Balak Ram and Bishamber Nath have joined their duties, while Sudarshan Tikkoo is only now lying in the hospital.

Pt. Tara Chand, Station Officer and Ganesh Dass, fireman, belonging to Maharajganj Station were located at 5 in the evening and brought to the hospital in the tender. They had however received no serious injury, and were therefore not kept in the hospital, and have joined their duties since then.

The appliances belonging to the Rainawari and Maharajganj Stations were also damaged, as stated above, and to make the things worse the Head-quarters engine while returning from Jail, broke its axle on the way near Rainawari Mission Hospital, and was forced to be left there.

As the danger of houses being put to fire in the night was increasing every moment, every effort was made to re-equip the stations, where the men and appliances had been damaged, and before darkness fell, satisfactory arrangements were made in all such stations.

I ran throughout the night from one station to another to keep the men alert, and the appliances in readiness and thank God the crisis was safely passed.

Since then numerous messages have been received that such and such Mohalla is going to be put to fire to-night, or fire has broken out at such and such place, but all have proved to be false and no fire has occurred during the last 17 days in the city.

EXHIBIT No. 21.

**Written Statement of Syed Pir Qamar-ud-Din, Vakil High Court, Srinagar
(Witness No. 13).**

I in the presence of the omnipotent Lord upon solemn affirmation state my deposition as follows:—

On the 29th Har 1988 Samvat I had to attend the Jail in order to appear, plead and act as a defence counsel in Sarkar *versus* Abdul Qadeer. I reached the spot when Maulvi Abdulla and other defence counsels had already arrived there. I met the Sessions Judge on the way. I was on a tonga and the learned judge was on a motor car. When I came into the compound of the Jail I saw a gathering of two or three hundred people there. I noticed another crowd sitting in the Badam Bagh (Almond garden) outside the Jail. Coming into the compound I made straight to the room where the case was to be tried. There the Sessions Judge directed me and other Muslim Vakils to advise the people to live peacefully and not to create any sort of disturbance. Thereupon all the three of us *i. e.* I, the deponent, Maulvi Abdulla and Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, B. A., LL. B., went out again in the compound and standing on a table advised the people as directed. The people accepted our advice and went out of the compound of the Jail peacefully. It is not known to me as to where they did go. There lay only one person in the compound who it was said had fallen down and it was alleged that some Police officer had kicked him in consequence of which he could not move.

Then a Police officer said to us to advise the people who stood either in the garden or on the wayside not to enter the compound. All the three of us went therefore into the garden and gave the same directions to them as the Police officer had told us to give. We also enquired of them as to why they came there. Their answer was that they came there to hear the decision of the case. Thereupon they were made to understand that they should not come in the Jail premises. They replied that they would go to their homes after offering their prayers. They actually began their prayers and we went in into the Jail premises. Making straight to the room where the Sessions Judge was sitting the Governor entered in the room between. He enquired of Messrs. Abdul Kareem and Habibullah both of Police Department as to who these men are who came into the compound. They replied that they did not know them. The Governor thereupon ordered them to go out and arrest them otherwise he would dismiss both of them. The Policemen not only these two, but many others rushed out at once with their iron chains on the spot where the people were peacefully offering their prayers and began to arrest people *indiscriminately* and brought into the Jail many such individuals. Upon this there was a hue and cry in the crowd and in the meanwhile I observed that the guns were at work and while the guns were being worked

at I observed some stones also falling in. The day of hearing being adjourned on a future date we came out of the Jail premises and saw the Military, Infantry as well as some Cavalry near the Police Line. The Governor was giving them instructions.

A Police officer was also telling the Military horsemen that they will have to meet a mob in the city and they should for that reason be very careful.

We then made our way straight to our respective homes.

EXHIBIT No. 22.

Translation of Vernacular Statement of Maulvi Mohammad Abdulla, Vakil (Witness No. 14) dated 30th July 1931.

In obedience to your order dated the 13th Sawan 1988, I beg to submit a true statement of facts here-under on solemn affirmation:—

The following are the causes which led to the recent disturbances. In reality the Mohammedans have been thinking from a very long time to represent their grievances to His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur. They feel that some of the officials of State are not their real well-wishers. The Mohammedans depend entirely on the grace of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur.

On His Highness' arrival back from Europe, a proposal was made both by Hindus and Mohammedans to give a joint Tea Party to His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur. Pandit Balkak Dhar was proposed to be the Honorary President of the Managing Committee. Mohammedans dissented from this proposal as it had not the support of the Muslim public. Accordingly Mohammedans held a meeting at Khanayar, wherein it was proposed to give a separate Tea Party. Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla took a prominent part in this connection. For this reason the Hindu public turned against him, and started intriguing against him. During these very days a large meeting of Muslims was held in Juma Masjid as a result of certain *Posters* alleging defilement of Quran at Jammu. Speeches were delivered there to vindicate the honor of Quran Sharif. But reporters exaggerated them and described them as highly inflammatory. Thereupon the Governor of Kashmir sent for a few representatives to learn the true account of the meetings. He was influenced by some of the speeches calculated to incite hatred and issued a notice to the effect that no speeches be delivered in future in Juma Masjid. The Muslim public took it as a further insult to their religion and religious speeches were continued to be delivered. A meeting held at Khanqah-Maula unfortunately resulted in the prosecution of Abdul Qadeer which assumed the form of a religious question and people began to take keen interest in the case.

The progress of Mohammedans and their electing the representatives made the Hindus feel jealous. Also refusal of the Muslim public to accept Pandit Balkak Dhar as a joint representative (of the proposed Tea Party) added to the displeasure of the Hindus. On this the Hindus led out in a procession, the dead body of a Pandit girl which resulted in a Lathi charge by the Police. Attempts were made to denounce the Mohammedans in open assemblies. Various rumours were current. Papers published false reports. Under these circumstances, the Muslim public, which took interest in the proceedings against Abdul Qadeer on religious grounds was considered to be in the wrong.

The date of hearing at the Central Jail was 29th Har 1988/13th July 1931. I proceeded to the Jail much earlier than the Sessions Judge.

When the Sessions Judge and the Public Prosecutor entered the Jail in a car a crowd of about two or three hundred men also went inside the Jail. I went straight to the room, where the case was to be heard. Pir Qamar-ud-Din, Pleader, also came in after the Sessions Judge, we both advised the people to leave the compound, which they did. Silence prevailed in the compound. Two or three of them remained inside to look after a certain person, who had fainted. People assembled in a garden outside the Jail enclosure where waiting to hear the judgment. At the insistence of the Police officers we advised those people, as well to leave, after saying their prayers. No sooner they got ready for the prayers, we returned to the Jail enclosure and noticed the Governor and other officers. The Governor went to the first storey of the room and enquired about the people, who had entered the enclosure. Somebody replied that he did not know them. Upon this the Governor got angry and ordered that they should at once be arrested or he (the person addressed) would be dismissed. Thereupon many a Policemen with chains in their hands ran towards the crowd, ready for saying prayers and began to make arrests indiscriminately. Those arrested were confined in the Jail. On this the people raised a loud noise. It was then that the fire was opened. One of the Policemen inside the gate of the outer enclosure aimed a shot on some body like a hunter. The crowd was dispersed as a result of firing. The case was postponed and I went out of the Jail after waiting there for a very long time. I saw Military and Cavalry standing near the Police Lines. The Cavalry was being instructed by the Governor to disperse the crowd in the city. A Pandit Police officer was informing them that they would be confronted and that they should be careful. I returned to the city and learnt that a communal trouble had arisen at Maharajganj. Lala Nanak Chand, Pleader, was with me. He had to go to Maharajganj. I arranged for a tonga and asked one Ghulam Mohammad to accompany him and help him if necessary. Afterwards I learnt that Nanak Chand reached home but Ghulam Mohammed was got arrested by Hindus. It is difficult to go into the details here. All the above facts show that certain sections of the public do not like the idea of Mohammedans presenting their grievances to His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur.

EXHIBIT No. 23.

**Translation of Vernacular Statement of M. Asadullah, Advocate
Srinagar (Witness No. 15), dated 15th Sawan 1988.**

In compliance with your letter No. 120, dated the 28th July 1931 I beg to submit that on the 29th Har 1988/13th July 1931 the mob which was already excited against me, attacked my house in my absence. It did not succeed in looting but threw stones upon windows and panes were broken. Moreover injurious words were used against my person and property.

EXHIBIT No. 24.

**Translation of Vernacular Statement of Pandit Maheshar Nath
Inspector of Police Srinagar (Witness No. 16), dated 16th Sawan 1988.**

The present agitation in Srinagar originated on the receipt of the news about the alleged interference in the recitation of *Khutba* at Jammu. It was intensified by the publication of a newspaper "Kashmiri Musalman" and by the alleged defilement of Quran Sharif by a certain

Labha Ram, Officer-in-charge of Jail guard. Sh. Mohammed Abdulla took advantage of the above happenings and created a following to excite the religious sentiments of the people. The newspaper "Kashmiri Musalman", by publishing inflammatory politic-religious articles, misrepresented the actual situation.

The agitation was further augmented by the posters issued by the Muslim Young Men's Association and the Anjuman Islamia Jammu. On 26th Jeth 1988/8th June 1931 a meeting announced by a beat of the drum was held in Juma Masjid, in which speeches calculated to excite public feeling and religious sentiment were delivered by Sh. Mohammed Abdulla, Ghulan Nabi Gilkar, Mohammed Basheer and others.

Many such meetings were held in the house of Sh. Mohammed Abdulla as well. Afterwards he and his colleagues arranged a number of meetings at Juma Masjid, Hazratbal, Batmalu and Maisuma to explain the defilement of the holy Quran and the unsympathetic treatment and oppression of Muslims by the Government. These speeches excited the religious sentiments of Muslims and created disaffection towards the Government.

A meeting was held on 7th Har 1988/21st June 1931 at Khanqah-Muala. At the close of which one Abdul Qadeer made a speech calculated to excite hatred towards the Government and disaffection among the Hindus and Mohammedans. The man was arrested and challaned in the Court.

In Bana Muhalla a few leaves of the holy Quran and some other sacred Persian books were said to have been found in a public latrine. The incident was utilised to incite further the already excited Muslims. Sh. Mohammed Abdulla and other by creating a religious excitement brought about the unification of the Muslim and started collecting funds. Volunteers were enrolled and supplied with uniforms and badges. Through these volunteers they carried on a vigorous propaganda throughout the city.

The D. M. read a public proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur in the Exhibition ground. On the following day a mammoth gathering of about 15,000 Muslims collected at Juma Masjid and refused to abide by the proclamation and delivered exciting speeches and recited verses.

The Sessions Judge was trying a case against Abdul Qadeer for delivering a seditious speech at a meeting held at Khanqah-Muala. On the days fixed for hearing a large number of people used to gather in the Court premises and shout slogans of "Nara Takbir", "Islam Zindabad", "Abdul Qadeer Zindabad". Owing to these demonstrations the authorities decided to conduct the case in Jail from 29th Har 1988/13th July 1931. I had to attend Court in the capacity of a witness for the prosecution. I reached Jail before the Sessions Judge and wait in the Police quarters. Gradually the Muslims began to gather together.

The Sessions Judge came in a car a little later. Muslims on seeing the car surrounded it. The car drove on while they followed it shouting "Insaf, Insaf", "Nara Takbir", "Islam Zindabad", "Abdul Qadeer Zindabad". The car went inside the Jail gate and the people followed it in an excited mood. I tried to prevent the excited mob from entering the Jail with the assistance of Police available over there. But the mob which consisted of many thousands, broke open the door wooden planks and forced entrance into the Jail. Every possible effort was made to stop the mob from entering the Jail, to prevent it from indulging in unlawful activities. But we could not succeed, on account of the extreme excitement that prevailed there. To force an entry into the Jail compound the mob tried to break open the iron gate of the Jail. A hasp was broken but the iron gate did not give way. I posted two lines of Policemen in

front of the gate and made all possible efforts to push back the crowd. The mob was intensely excited and insisted to enter the Jail. People were making much noise in the Jail compound. Thereupon I asked the Policemen inside the iron gate to inform the authorities and request the D. I. G., D. S. P., D. M. and A. D. M. to come to the spot. All the Policemen present there were not armed with Lathis. Keeping in view the delicate nature of the situation the mob was turned out of the Jail compound by tact and advice. A few people were still in the compound when the D. S. P. with extra Police arrived. The D. S. P. also informed the authorities of the situation by phone. The people continued to make demonstrations outside the gate. At this time the D. I. G., the D. M. and other officers arrived. They heard the whole story and ordered that the offenders be arrested. On this the mob began to throw stones and make demonstrations. The mob continued their activities, although it was ordered to disperse. A noise was heard from inside the Jail also. Policemen were wounded by shower of stones and an attempt was made to cut off the telephone wires. I heard that the western part of the Jail had been set to fire. The authorities after mutual consultation gave orders to open fire. The armed Police accordingly opened fire and the mob was dispersed. The roof of the Police Lines was seen burning. The property of the Police guard was burnt and looted and the boxes and *charpoy*s were broken. The mob gathered at that place was dispersed by a Lathi charge. The Fire Brigade also arrived on the spot.

My mare which was tied with a rope on the western side of the Police Lines, was found missing. On enquiry I was told that the mob stoned and pursued it. The mare was however found in the evening.

After this the Cavalry, the Political Minister and the I. G. P. arrived after making necessary arrangements at the Jail. I accompanied the D. S. P. to Amira Kadal where we heard of the loot at Maharajganj. I then went to Maharajganj in the company of the D. S. P. and saw shops looted there. I found the Hindus weeping and wailing frightened and terror stricken. After this I was put on different duties at different places.

EXHIBIT No. 25.

**Written Statement of Abdul Kareem, Inspector of Police C. I. D. (Witness. No. 17),
dated 16th Har 1938.**

I have from time to time been submitting reports regarding the present Muslim agitation in Srinagar.

On Monday the 13th of July 1931 one Abdul Qadeer's case was to be heard by the Sessions Judge in the Central Jail; I heard shouts of Allah-O-Akbar at about 12-30 p. m. when I was leaving my house (about 500 paces to the south of the Central Jail) to attend the office. Instead of going to office therefore I proceeded towards the Jail. On reaching there I found a riff-raff numbering between five to eight hundred in the Jail compound gathered round the iron railed gate and raising a tremendous noise to the effect that they wanted to get in and stay with their brother Abdul Qadeer. There were many people besides these on the road and in the garden outside the Jail. I surveyed the crowd to find out if there was any of their leaders present but did not find any. The City Inspector of Police, Sub Inspector of Police, Maharaj Ranbir Ganj Police Station and about 40 constables were present near the Jail gate. Meanwhile (about 12-45 p. m.) the District Superintendent of Police also arrived and immediately after him a Police lorry also arrived with about twenty five Policemen armed with Lathies and rifles.

I next saw Maulvi Abdulla Vakil entering the civil prisoners ward (where the case was to be heard) and went to see him, and asked him if he would advise the mob to become orderly and leave the Jail compound. He agreed to it and spoke to the mob from the top of a table. After hearing him for a while the mob left the compound. Some of them stopped on the road outside while others entered the garden in front. At this juncture (about 1-15 p. m.) the D. I. G. Police also arrived. Maulvi Abdulla Vakil had also gone into the garden and was advising people not to become tumultuous but offer prayers instead. Many people went to the Ghat to perform ablutions. Just then another Police lorry arrived from the Lines with about 25 men more armed with rifles and Lathies. The District Magistrate also arrived immediately after this (at about 1-25 p. m.).

A man out of the mob recited out *Azan*. The District Magistrate, the D. I. G. and District Superintendent of Police held a conference first in the compound and then in the Jail office.

After sometime I was called upstairs and the District Magistrate ordered me to go and identify and arrest the rioters. As it was not possible for me I could not comply with his orders. He was however much upset and insisted on my going. I therefore could not but go and help the Police in making arrests. All the Police present then made a charge and arrested some persons one of whom I took into my custody and escorted to the Jail. Meanwhile those who had gone to perform ablutions had also returned and many more came from the city side.

The mob then began to throw stones and bricks on the Police who were in the Jail compound and also began to hoot us. Fire was then opened and I saw some of the people bringing *charpoys* from the Police barrack side and began to remove their dead and wounded. When they had removed them the Police moved from the compound and came on the road. Several hundred people were still there at the south-western corner of the Jail. Many *charpoys* and boxes belonging to the Police had been broken and their uniform and beddings scattered on the ground. A burning rag had been thrown on the shingled roof of the Police barrack, and was extinguished by the Fire Brigade who had also arrived at this time.

Some more persons out of this mob were also arrested by the Police. Shortly after this (about 3-30 p. m.) some Cavalry horsemen and 3 or 4 lorries of Military men also arrived. Mr. Wakefield and Major Sutherland also arrived at the same time and the situation at the Jail had by now calmed down.

EXHIBIT No. 27.

Written Statement of Sheikh Habib Ullah, Sub-Inspector C. I. D. (Witness No. 18), dated 4th August 1931.

On Monday the 13th July 1931, when I was out on my morning round I learnt on my way to Amira Kadal at about 12 noon that Abdul Qadeer's case was to be heard at the Central Jail, and therefore I left for that place where I reached at about 12-30. There was a boisterous mob of about seven to eight hundred persons in the Jail compound crying that they would like to get in. I did not see any notable person among them, and therefore came out to see if there was any one on the road or in the garden in front of the Jail, and remained moving here and there. After some time *i. e.* at about 1 p. m. I saw the crowd getting out of the Jail compound, and Maulvi Abdulla Vakil also got out and went into the garden, where he addressed the mob and exhorted

them not to become unruly but offer prayers. Meanwhile people continued pouring in from the city swelling the mob while some left for the Ghat to perform oblations. By this time the D. I. G. also arrived and I also entered the compound of the Jail. The District Magistrate also arrived at about 1-25 p. m. The D. M. then summoned me to the Jail office and asked me if I could go and identify and arrest the rioters. As it was not possible for me to comply with such orders, I expressed my inability to do so, but as he insisted, I had no other alternative but to accompany the Police and help them in making arrests. When some arrests were made, and I was still in the garden the mob began to throw brick-bats on the Police, who in return opened fire at about 12-15 on the mob. As the mob had also seen me making arrests with Police, some people threatened to assault me and my position became very difficult as I was left alone in the infuriated mob. I, however, took refuge in the Jail guard office where I remained until the mob had dispersed, and found that a burning rag had been thrown on the roof of the Police Line, which had set fire to it, and most of the *charpoys* and boxes had been broken, and beddings and uniforms scattered on the ground. After some time Cavalry and Military lorries also arrived. After this Mr. Wakefield and Major Sutherland also arrived when the situation had calmed down.

EXHIBIT No. 28.

**Translation of Vernacular Statement of Thakur Sham Singh, Line Officer
(Witness No. 19), dated 15th Sawan 1938.**

On 29th Har 1938/13th July 1931 at about 12-35 p. m. the D. I. G. ordered me on phone that S. Sultan Ali, Sub-Inspector of Police, with three Head-constables and 11 armed constables having 2 packets of cartridges each and 14 armed with Lathis should be immediately sent to the Jail on Government lorry. The order was complied with by me.

At about 12-45 the D. I. G. again phoned to me that rest of the Reserve force should also be detailed to the Jail fully armed as ordered heretofore. I was ordered to follow them to the Central Jail. I asked the Royal Durbar Motor Company on phone for a lorry which was received at about one o'clock. In obedience to the above order two Head-constables and nineteen constables from the Lines and Training School force armed with rifles, Lathis and each holding two spare packets of cartridges and were accordingly sent to the Jail under the command of the Reserve Inspector who had arrived just in time for the purpose, I followed them.

On our arrival at the Central Jail the D. I. G. ordered that the rifle party may be kept in readiness along with the one who had arrived before (under the command of Sultan Ali, Sub-Inspector) similarly the Lathi party was to take its stand just near the one which was already there. This was done accordingly. After a short while the D. I. G. ordered that the mob should be driven out of the compound of the Jail garden line with the help of the Lathi Police. Thereupon I came out of the Central Jail along with the City Inspector of Police and other officers and began to disperse the crowd. We also arrested a few men. On this the crowd started pelting stones which caused serious injuries to some of the Policemen. Seeing this the D. I. G. ordered the Lathi party to return and stand aloof. The rifle party under the command of Sultan Ali, Sub-Inspector took its stand on the opposite side. When the mob began to stone and attack the Jail, the fire was opened and the crowd dispersed to a little extent. The dispersed crowd set fire to the Jail

Guard Police Lines. On this the D. I. G. ordered the Lathi and rifle party (having mounted bayonets on the rifles) to disperse the crowd at once. This order was carried out without any delay and resulted in the dispersal of the mob. Then arrived, the Fire Brigade, Infantry and Cavalry. I left the Jail under the orders of D. I. G. with my force on a lorry to patrol in the city.

EXHIBIT No. 29.

**Written Statement of Ghulam Mohammad, B. A., LL. B., 1st Bridge,
Maisuma Srinagar (Witness No. 20).**

On 29th Har 1988 when I learnt that the case of State *versus* Abdul Qadeer would be tried in Camera in the Central Jail Srinagar I applied to the Sessions Judge for permission to watch the proceedings there. Having secured the necessary permission I went to the Central Jail along with Maulvi Mohammed Abdulla Sahib Vakil and Lala Nanak Chand, B. A. LL. B., counsel for the accused. When we reached the Jail premises we saw the Jailor sitting outside his quarters and we repaired straight to him. We had sat with him for about an hour when the Sessions Judge arrived in his car. As the car entered through the outer gate, it was followed by a throng of about 300 men (three hundred) who collected in the compound. The Sessions Judge alighted from the car and directly a Sub-Inspector approached him for orders as to how they should deal with the people who had thus collected. The Sessions Judge directed him to send the people out of the compound, upon which the Sub-Inspector enquired of him as to how that should be done whether by Lathi charge or by fire. The Sessions Judge told him that no force should be used and that peaceful methods should be adopted in that direction. Having said this the Sessions Judge went to the room where the hearing of the case was to take place. I followed him there. No sooner had he seated himself there than crying and yelling was heard coming from outside, upon which the Sessions Judge directed Maulvi Mohammed Abdulla Sahib, Peer Qamar-ud-Din Sahib and myself to go outside and exhort people to remain quietly. Accordingly we went out and I saw people beating their own heads and weeping. I asked some of the people as to what had happened and was told that certain Police officials had kicked down some of them as a result whereof they had died. I went to the spot where the people had collected thick and saw some men prostrate on the ground, fallen in swoon. Afterwards Maulvi Mohammed Abdulla Sahib, Peer Qamar-ud-Din Sahib and myself got up on a table which was brought in the centre for us to stand on and from there we enquired from the people as to why they had got into the compound. We were told in reply that they had come to hear the judgment which they said was to be delivered in the case of State *versus* Abdul Qadeer. We disillusioned them on the wrong notion clearing it to them that the proceedings were still in progress and there was no question of judgment being delivered so soon, and advised them to go away and mind their own business. They readily responded to our exhortation and all of them, except two or three who were fanning the swooned, left the place. This done, we went back to the Court room and no sooner had we reached there than a Court Inspector with two other men came to us saying that the people had collected on the road outside the Jail premises and in the adjacent garden. They said they apprehended that the people might get again into the compound and asked us to go out again to tell them that they should clear off from the road. Accordingly we—Maulvi Moahammed Abdulla, Peer Qamar-ud-Din and myself—went out to the spot where the people had assembled. Maulvi Mohammed Abdulla Sahib called them to the adjoining garden, where at his request, I recited a verse of Quran to enforce attention. Thereupon Maulvi Mohammed

Abdulla Sahib spoke to the people advising them to go away to their respective homes and to busy themselves in their professions. He was assured by one and all that they would depart from the place after saying their prayers for which they said, the time had reached. Presently a man got on the wall of the garden and began to chant the call to prayer. So we went back to the Jail compound where a Chaprasi told us that the case would be heard in the upper storey of the inner gate-house and that the Sessions Judge wanted us to hasten there. We directly made to the place and reaching the upper storey I entered a room where I found, among others, the District Magistrate, the Additional District Magistrate, the City Magistrate and the City Munsiff. While I was passing through this room to enter the one where the Sessions Judge was to hold the hearing, I heard the District Magistrate enquiring from Mr. Abdul Karim, Deputy Inspector if he could recognise the persons who had entered into the Jail compound. After having seated myself in the adjoining Court room, I heard the District Magistrate asking from Mr. Habib Ullah, Sub-Inspector to recognise the said persons. On Habib Ullah replying to him that it was difficult for him to do so as they were so many, the District Magistrate threatened him with immediate dismissal on this account. Mr. Habib Ullah kept quiet and the District Magistrate gave orders to the Police officials near him to send the Police men with handcuffs to arrest the offenders. A short time afterwards (it was something like four or five minutes) I heard some one shouting out side "Fire Karo, Fire Karo" just as I heard the shouts I hurried to a window of the room wherefrom I saw the Police firing from the compound at the people in the outside garden. While the firing was on, I also saw some stones being flung from the side of the people towards the compound. When there was none to be seen in the garden the Police came out from the compound to chase the people with guns and Lathis. I then saw some men being dragged inside the Jail.

When all this happened, the Sessions Judge told the counsel for the accused that the case of State *versus* Abdul Qadeer would be heard on the 2nd of Sawan 1988. Hearing this we—Maulvi Mohammed Abdulla Sahib, Lala Nanak Chand Sahib, B. A., LL. B., Peer Qamar-ud-Din Sahib and myself—came downstairs and reaching the road near the Police quarters, I saw Military and Cavalry arrived there, the latter being instructed by the District Magistrate to patrol the city and to disperse persons wherever found in groups of more than five. Afterwards we all went to our homes.

EXHIBIT No. 30.

Brigadier Onkar Singh's Diary from 13th to 19th July 1931 (Witness No. 21).

13th July 1931.

I was busy in the Army Head-quarters presiding the Tender Committee when the Governor of Kashmir informed me at about 2 p. m. hours from the Central Jail that a mob had attacked the Jail, the Police had opened fire, and their ammunition having been exhausted, the situation had gone out of control and the Military help was extremely essential. Just then the Secretary to the Army Minister phoned asking to get troops of Kashmir Body Guard Cavalry and 2 companies of an Infantry Battalion in readiness and to await further orders. This was done.

A few minutes later Lt. Nar Singh, Kashmir Body Guard Cavalry, phoned me to say that he had received orders direct from Karan Bagh to proceed to Dal gate atonce with two troops fully armed with swords and lances. He was instructed to obey the orders atonce.

Soon after an information was received to the effect that Brigadier Sutherland with 80 men from 5th Kashmir Light Infantry had proceeded to the Central Jail. In the meanwhile I after consulting the Governor phoned Sher Garhi Police to get hold of seven lorries and send them at once to Brigade office.

I then left for the Brigade office and shortly after the lorries arrived there, taking them with me I proceeded to the Badami Bagh Cantonment and there ordered the units to get ready.

By then orders from the Army Minister were received through the Inspector General of Police that 300 Military men should be sent to Maharajganj where a general loot had begun by a mob. So I started for that place with 250 men on lorries, and on arrival there found that the loot had finished. On my way to Maharajganj I saw most of the shops there and in Bhuri Kadal looted. From enquiry it transpired, that the looted shops belonged to Hindus. In consultation with the Police officials, the force at my disposal there was sent in lorries to the different places. Maharajganj was made the Brigade Head-quarters.

It was reported by the men posted at the Police Chowki near Juma Masjid that the dead bodies of the men killed, by Police fire had been brought to the above Masjid.

The same night at about 10 p. m. Captain Gouri Datt of 5th Kashmir Light Infantry informed that the patrol of Shyam Singh fired at the mob to disperse it, with the result that the mob dispersed with a casualty of one killed and one wounded. I went to make an inspection of it at the spot. But found no dead body there and the Patrol Commander reported that the mob had carried away the casualties.

14th July 1931.

This day the dead bodies were to be buried, consequently I received an order on phone from Ramnivas that Military men were to be posted near Juma Masjid at 5-30 a. m. to maintain peace and order. So two troops of Kashmir Body Guard Cavalry and one Battalion strength of 1st K. I., 2nd K. R., 5th K. L. I. and Training School was sent and posted at the place at the time ordered.

At about 12 a. m. eleven dead bodies were brought out of the Masjid for being buried, a small number of the men accompanied the biers, rest remaining collected within the Masjid. After a good deal of reasoning with them, they also dispersed and went away to their houses. The Military force was also sent back.

I then got an information that because of some disturbance in Vicharnag side Brigadier Sutherland had left for that place with one Platoon of 1st K. I. under Lt. Mansa Ram, Tehsildar Pt. Raghunath Mattoo, accompanying them.

At about 8-30 p. m. a detailed report was received from Vicharnag to the effect that Jamadar Ratan Singh's party was stoned and surrounded by the mob and there was a danger of the rifles even being snatched away—the Jamadar appreciating the extreme seriousness of the situation ordered the mob to disperse away and on their disobeying to do so he ordered high fire, with the result he saw one man dropping down, and the mob dispersed. Lt. Mansa Ram's party which was accompanied by the Tehsildar was similarly attacked but on their pursuing with bayonet the mob dispersed.

15th July 1931.

On my return from inspecting the pickets and patrols I received a message on phone at about 9-30 a. m. that a mob had attacked the Nawa Bazar side and that fire had to be opened. I immediately arrived

at the spot and received a report from Subedar Attar Singh, 5th K. L. I. that the casualties were one dead and two wounded, and these had been sent to the State hospital before my arrival there. Brigadier Sutherland and Nawab Khusru Jung were also present on the spot. In company with the above two officers I went round the place and saw many stones scattered on the road. On enquiring from the Patrol Commander Naick Onkar Singh, it was reported that the mob had stoned them and there was a hand to hand fight also, which left him no other alternative but to open fire.

By the evening I in company with Major General Janak Singh Ji, Nawab Khusru Jung, Brigadier Sutherland and Lieutenant Colonel Ghansar Singh, inspected the pickets and on our arriving at the Bagh Alias Police Station we got a report from Naick Udham Singh that his picket was stoned from the roofs of houses and streets, and he had arrested and handed over to the Police three of such people.

16th July 1931.

I inspected the pickets and patrols the whole day and towards evening I met the Army Minister and Brigadier Sutherland at Maharajganj. The Army Minister instructed me that the next day *i. e.* 17th July 1931 being Juma, the Mohammedans would be going to Masjid to offer their prayers and it was very likely they would be going in crowds near the Masjid and consequently the Military arrangements should be such as not to interfere with their movements, hence I proposed that patrolling should be suspended for that day. The Army Minister agreed and orders were issued accordingly.

17th July 1931.

This day one Platoon of 40 men under Lieutenant Mardan Ali Shah, 2nd K. R. was posted near Juma Masjid, and two troops of Kashmir Body Guard Cavalry were sent to Hazratbal to maintain peace and order. Necessary orders prohibiting interference with the movements of the people were given. Patrolling remained suspended during the day. No unusual event occurred. *Nimaz* finished at 7 p. m. and units posted at the above two Masjids were sent back.

Under the orders of Brigadier Sutherland one lorry of 15 armed soldiers with a man of Telegraph Department under Jamadar Partap Singh, 1st K. I. attached with the Training School, detailed to Anantnag to patrol Telegraph and Telephone posts reported to be damaged by the public between Anantnag and Verinag.

18th July 1931.

I went round the pickets and posts and ordered that the patrolling should be done after an interval of two hours instead of one as heretofore. Nothing unusual was reported during the day. Major Milkha Singh, 5th K. L. I. however said that their men with rations lorry saw during the night a Kashmiri Pandit's shop surrounded by four or five men that these were trying to break open the doors and that on a Police constable's shouting for help one of near village Lambardar came and tried reasons with the looters, who did not disperse and then the Military men arrested one of them—remaining having run away. This arrested fellow was then handed over to the Police by Post Commander Vicharnag.

19th July 1931.

I inspected the posts in the morning—it was O. K. Two Lewis gun sections posted in Ramnivas were removed under orders of Brigadier Sutherland and the remaining strength reduced to normal. At about 12 hours D. I. G. P. came to Brigadier Sutherland and said that one ten year old boy (Gujar) had got both of his hands injured—probably by a Military man's fire at Pandrethan and that the boy was admitted into the State

hospital, as instructed by the Brigadier Sutherland. I and Colonel Ghansar Singh taking with us the boy and his father went to the spot and found that the boy had got injured near the pit where the old detonators fuzes were demolished by a Captain (Arsenal) I. A. some twenty days before. It looked there was some blind detonator there—which the boy probably mishandled and it went off. This was confirmed by drops of blood and the gunpowder stains on the stones near by.

EXHIBIT 31.

Translation of the Statement of Subedar Attar Singh (Witness No. 22).

He states that on 31st Har, 1988, about 9 o'clock two patrols were sent out—one under Naick Onkar Singh towards Nawa Bazar and the other under Lance Naick Rohlu towards Fateh Kadal. After an hour Lance Naick Rohlu returned and reported "All correct" in the area patrolled by him; but he said he had heard a great noise on the side of Nawa Bazar. Thereupon he (Subedar) forthwith set out in a lorry towards Nawa Bazar to make out the cause of noise there. On reaching the bridge he saw none except brick-bats etc. scattered here and there. On proceeding further a distance of about 300 yards he came upon Naick Onkar Singh who related him the whole happening. He again retraced his steps and came to the scene of happening and closely inspected the place but saw nothing but brick-bats etc. He then hastened back to the picket position but on reaching there he saw a great bustle in the Police Post. On inquiring it was found that two men have been wounded and one killed by the Military fire and those have been brought there. Instantly I. G. P., C. M. S. and Colonel Nawab Khusru Jung reached there. C. M. S. inquired from him who has fired. He replied "Naick Onkar Singh". Then he asked him to summon the said Naick. Accordingly the Naick was sent for and brought before him (C. M. S.). He put some questions to the Naick and then went to see the place of happenings with the Naick.

He accordingly reported the matter to the O. C. Unit.

EXHIBIT No. 32.

Translation of the Statement of Naick Onkar Singh (Witness No. 23.)

He states that he with his section (4 men) was patrolling on the road Tashawan-Nawa Bazar, on the morning of 31st Har 1988, at about 9 o'clock. When he reached the Nawa Bazar bridge where two routes meet, he saw about 50 men assembled on each route. He asked them to disperse; but one man out of the gang replying in hot spirit said "We will not go", and then these hot heads began shouting, abusing the patrol and also began pelting the stones, brick-bats, etc. Thus seeing the threatening attitude of the mob he advanced to the other side of the bridge; as he was just crossing it, another gang numbering about 250 men appeared from the opposite side and at once commenced assaulting the patrol, so much so that the rifles of the two leading men (Abe Singh and Glodhu) were caught hold of by the mob who was trying to snatch them off. He cautioned the hooligans several times but to no avail. Meanwhile the first mob also followed up and drew quite near, continuing brickbattering as before, whereby he and two sepoy were injured. Thus hemmed in, he was compelled to order the two nearest sepoy to fire one round down towards the ground in order to frighten and disperse the mob, thereby

affecting release of the rifle. But even then the mob persisted and threatened all the more. Thereupon he ordered the whole patrol (4 men) to fire one round which led to the dispersion of the mob; but sepoy Glodhu who was still unable to free himself, was ordered to fire one round more. Thus in all seven rounds were fired. The mob dispersed. He saw no wounded or killed on the spot. He resumed patrolling as soon as the way was open for onward progress. A little way off he was met by Subedar Attar Singh (Picket Commander) to whom the report regarding the happenings on the bridge was made; whereupon Subedar left him to visit the spot and he resumed patrolling. After an hour or so he was summoned by the Subedar to the picket position, where he saw that Inspector General Police, Chief of the Military Staff and Colonel Nawab Khusru Jung were present. Colonel Sutherland, C. M. S., inquired from him about the happenings in the Nawa Bazar and then, as ordered by the Subedar, he accompanied C. M. S. to the spot where he explained the whole situation with reference to the spot.

EXHIBIT No. 33.

Written Statement of Khawaja Noor Shah, Revenue Assistant (Witness No. 24).

I was deputed by the Governor Kashmir to Maharajganj Bazar (Srinagar) on the 29th Har 1988 after 4 p. m. to see what was going on there. On arrival at Maharajganj Bazar I found that shutters of many Hindu shops were broken and their contents were said to have been carried away and there was hue and cry all round. The Military and the Police were already patrolling the Ilaqa and the people were crying for protection. Few Musalmans were seen in the streets and those who were seen even passing, were caught hold of and handed over to the Military. Some of the Pandits complained that their property had been stolen and was in possession of Hanjees, but soon it was reported by the non-Muslims that some of the property was discovered in their possession and was being handed over to the Police officer on spot. The time was critical and it was not an easy task then to determine the truth of the complaints. Whatever was claimed by the complaining persons was acclaimed to be their property.

From Maharajganj I was deputed to Vicharnag where the Military was already present and the situation was in hand. From what was alleged by the complainants the plunderers had not confined their activities to plunder only but had roughly handled Pandit ladies also in order to take away their ornaments. One of the Pandits alleged before me that he had suffered a loss of some lacs and pointed out to a fire-place in which he stated his *Behi Khatas* were destroyed.

EXHIBIT No. 34.

Written Statement of Pandit Raghunath Raina, officiating Deputy Jailor, Srinagar (Witness No. 25).

I beg to say that on 29th of Har 1988 at about 1 p. m., the Sessions Judge, Kashmir reached the Jail and hundreds of people, who had already collected outside the Jail gate, followed the Judge in his car and entered the Jail compound. The Police guard at the gate could not

control the mob as more and more people reached into the compound. The mob was shouting the cries "Allah-O-Akbar and Nara Takbir" and so on. In the meantime they came near the outer main gate of the Jail and caught hold of its bars and were trying to break it open with all their might. After short time when the mob was cleared out I saw that one of the iron sockets of the gate was missing and I immediately reported about this to the Jailor.

EXHIBIT No. 35.

Translation of the Statement of Sepoy Abe Singh No. 1663 (Witness No. 26).

He states that he was out on patrolling under the command of Naick Onkar Singh, on the morning of 31st Har 1988, at about 9 O'clock, towards Nawa Bazar. Sepoy Glodhu and he were moving ahead of the patrol; when they reached a point where two routes meet on the bridge, he saw about sixty men assembled on each route. The Naick asked them to disperse but they did not; and despite this, they began to shout and abuse them and throw stone and brick-bats on them (sepoys). Seeing their threatening attitude, the Naick ordered them to advance on to bridge. As they were crossing the bridge, another gang numbering about 250 men appeared from the other side of the bridge and atonce began assaulting them, so much so that his rifle was caught hold of by some of them while others began to beat him. He tried his utmost to free himself but could not. He shouted for help to the Naick who ordered the two sepoys behind to fire one round, but this could not produce any effect. Then he ordered all to fire one round. He fired one round whereby his rifle was released and the mob dispersed making way for them to advance. He did not see anyone wounded or killed there.

EXHIBIT No. 36.

Translation of the Statement of Sepoy Glodhu No. 1631 (Witness No. 27).

He states I was patrolling under Naick Onkar Singh on the morning of 31st Har 1983 at about 9 o'clock, on the road Tashawan-Nawa Bazar. At the meeting point of two roads near bridge we saw about 50 men gathered together on each road. We asked them to go away to their homes and not to assemble like this here, but they did not pay the least heed nevertheless showed us their threatening attitude and instantaneously began to make noise and throw brick-bats upon us. Thereupon the Naick ordered us to advance. Sepoy Abe Singh and myself were the leading pair, we advanced and had gone only few steps on the bridge when another mob numbering about 250 men came threatening upon us and at once enveloped me and sepoy Abe Singh so much so that our rifles were caught hold of by them and they began to snatch them off. Moreover stones and brick-bats etc. were being thrown on us which caused injuries to me and others too. I tried my utmost to rescue myself and my rifle, but failed to do so. At last Naick Onkar Singh ordered us to fire one round. I fired one round but could not free myself, then the Naick ordered me to fire one round more which led to the dispersion of the mob round about me, thus making way for further advance.

EXHIBIT No. 37.

**Translation of Vernacular Statement of Gopi Chand, Constable No. 1343,
(Witness No. 28).**

I beg to state that on 29th Har 1988, I was ordered by the Lines Officer Kashmir to go to the Central Jail and bring the prisoners from there to the Court under proper custody. I and a few other constables proceeded to the Jail and brought from there prisoners (1) Zaman Shah, (2) Firoz, (3) Ghulam Hussain, (4) Sher Ahmed to the Saddar Court.

After the close of the proceedings returning to Jail we saw a huge noisy crowd advancing forward. No sooner we met this mob, we noticed that the route was blocked and the adjacent grounds and gardens were crowded. The Muslims assaulted us and took away the hand-cuffed undertrial prisoners. We were also beaten and wounded. I got serious injuries and am in bed in Central Jail Dispensary since that day. There was no chance of escape as the Muslims surrounded us on all sides.

EXHIBIT No. 38.

**Written Statement of Pandit Sham Sunder Lal Dhar, Director Devasthans and
State Property (Witness No. 29).**

Enclosed is a statement of my personal experience on 13th July. To this I may only add that none of my acquaintances who happened to pass the Mohallas in my neighbourhood, such as Nawa Bazar and Chattabal, that day in the afternoon, after about 3-30 and till the Military came in, was left unmolested; if not assaulted or pelted at, he was at least abused and threatened.

2. I am not officially connected with matters relating to the maintenance of peace. Therefore I cannot claim to know more than may be gathered by a citizen whose circle of acquaintances is fairly large and who has a natural interest in matters affecting the public. The movement in Srinagar, it appears, did not start with indigenous initiative. Probably it was imported. With the boons which have been conferred during the last five years and the special solicitude which have been evinced for the progress of the Muslim community, the local people had reason enough for gratitude rather than discontent. Among the boons which were announced less than three months ago, the prolongation of the term of Settlement and writing off of arrears of land revenue benefited agriculturists who are mostly Muslims. The outside spirit appears to have disturbed the minds of a few easily excitable persons. The first signs of a change are said to have become visible about the end of the last winter. After that it went on increasing. The influx of outsiders with the advent of the summer and certain inflammatory articles in the cheap vernacular papers intensified it. The decease of the Mir Waiz took away a restraining influence. In the meanwhile as meetings were allowed to be held unchecked, the movement spread and developed into an agitation; the utterances became objectionable and processions, in which were raised cries to acclaim and commend the leaders of the movement were taken out. The Jammu disturbances had also their effect. Successful endeavours were made to unite the various factions of Mohammedans. Much propaganda work was done. Besides large gatherings in public places, meetings were also, it is said, held secretly in the Mohallas. As these unrestrained activities met with success the agitators became bolder and to excite the ignorant masses, their religious susceptibilities were touched. It was by these stages

that the movement grew and culminated in the open rebellion of 13th July and the outrages and excesses that were perpetrated on that day.

3. I have no information what measures, if any, were adopted to keep the movement within lawfull limits. Obviously the action taken was not effective. Warnings might have controlled the situation in the early beginning. Later on some sterner measures such as, prohibition of speeches or perhaps binding down a few people to keep peace would have checked the movement. The policy of non-interference, when disaffection against the Government and hatred against the Hindu community were being disseminated and a serious situation was being created, was scarcely advisable. This had the effect of emboldening the agitators and lowering the prestige of the Government. That there would be a large gathering at the Jail and that there might be some unlawful demonstration was known to many but no one could believe that sufficient and effective precautions had not been taken. It is said that raid on the Jail and the loot at Maharajganj took place almost simultaneously. This indicates that the loot was pre-arranged and was not a sudden out-burst of the fury of the Jail mob. The loot and other excesses at Vicharnag were committed mostly by people from places in the vicinity of Vicharnag. This indicates the extent to which inciting and inflammatory propaganda had carried the ignorant masses.

4. The calling in of the Military cried halt to the excesses. The inflammatory propaganda had made the agitators so audacious and so lowered their respect for authority, that during the first three days, even the troops were defied and assaulted at some places. Open loot stopped but endeavours continued to keep up excitement and truculence. False reports were freely spread about Muslims having been killed by Hindu inhabitants, outside help and interference, loot and arson in Mufassil towns and villages, expected arrival of Pastunis from the Ganderbal side, anxiety of the Government to negotiate with the agitators and similar other matters. Discontinuance of searches and arrests, enlisting the help of persons of doubtful sincerity for restoring normal conditions, lack of measures to stop activities, counteracting official efforts, processions and gatherings even after the promulgation of Section 144—all these had injurious effect.

Matters have no doubt improved considerably but sullenness continues and law-abiding public apprehend an outburst, if preventive measures are relaxed, as to other things has now been added the lust for loot.

5. As regards future, the following suggestions may be considered:—

- (1) Proper enquiry into cases of excesses and action against offenders.
- (2) Searches to recover looted property and objectionable literature etc. These searches have been seriously delayed but it would have a very undesirable effect not to do all that may still be possible in this direction.
- (3) All gatherings, lectures, and processions may be stopped for one year unless specially permitted by the District Magistrate. Political speeches under the cloak of *W'az* and prayers should be prohibited.
- (4) All persons known to have agitated or likely to agitate should be bound down to keep peace for one year.
- (5) Military posts should be kept in the city till all danger is removed.

- (6) The Police should be improved and reformed and it should be armed. Reserve should be maintained in different centres in the city.
- (7) A third Police station should be provided for the city. The limits of the duty have been extended and the population has increased and therefore two Thanas cannot cope with the work. Outlying Mohallas towards the confines of the city need special attention and watch.
- (8) All Police stations and Chowkies should be connected with telephones.
- (9) River Police should be strengthened and should patrol the river and Nallas in the city regularly.
- (10) The C. I. D. should work intelligently and promptly and their reports should receive careful attention. The officers should be efficient and reliable. The movement of all persons who come from outside and mix with the public should be carefully watched.
- (11) Newspapers which persistently excite disaffection against Government or communal hatred should be proscribed.
- (12) Publicity work is required to contradict false and disturbing rumours.
- (13) Persons of education and influence should be selected in each Mohalla or group of Mohallas to see that public peace is not disturbed. The local Police should keep themselves in touch with these persons. The present Mohalla-Afsars who are generally illiterate and ignorant should work under the guidance of these persons and should be responsible to report to them all events.
- (14) Responsibility for action should be defined and fixed. One officer passing a report to another without anybody shouldering the responsibility is useless.
- (15) The District Magistrate under whom the Police is in all matters connected with maintenance of peace and order, should be on the alert and should take prompt and effective action as soon as there is the least likelihood of disturbances of peace. He and the D. I. G. Police should keep themselves in constant touch with the leaders of all communities and activities.
- (16) Outlying and isolated Hindu houses should be specially protected and punitive Police should be stationed in turbulent Mohallas and suburbs.
- (17) As soon as matters quiet down further, responsible members of various communities in different centres should try to meet each other to clear the way for living together in future in peace and good comradeship.
- (18) If any communal question arises in future the District Magistrate should bring together the leaders for mutual explanation and settlement.

On the 13th July at about 4 p. m. my wife and children accompanied by Prithvi Nath Madan, Jager Nath Koul, a Hindu servant Jia Lal and two maid servants (one Hindu Dogra and one Mohammedan) were returning in my Buick Car from the house of Dewan Arjan Nath Madan at Habba Kadal. The car which was being driven by my driver Rasul Sheikh was held up at Chattabal, some distance above the bridge

by a mob of about 1,000 people who looked infuriated and in the state of great excitement. They were bare headed, most of them armed with Lathies and uttering foul abuses and threats against His Highness, Maharaj Kumar Ji and Hindus. Some were bearing two *charpoy*s on which appeared two bodies. They said that the inmates of the car were Hindus and Pandits and should be destroyed. They came to attack the car but it was taken by the driver to the cart-stand which happens to be on the right side of the road at this point. Part of the crowd followed it and continued uttering abuses and threats of violence and throwing stones in the car which hit Jia Lal who was on the mudguard. They came rushing to assault the inmates but five or six Mohammedans stood in front of the car and prevented them from molesting the inmates. One of them spoke in English to Prithvi Nath Madan that the car should be reversed from the cart-stand and taken atonce, as if delayed people would assault them. As soon as the car was reversed people began to throw stones which smashed the back glass and one celluloid side curtain. The mudguards were damaged by blows of Lathies. Some of the stones came in and caused slight bodily injury to the inmates. They escaped the serious hurt as all the side curtains were up. The head of the driver was also hurt by a stone. It was with the help of the five or six people referred to above that it became possible for the driver to bring the car on the road and thence to proceed homeward in state of great panic and peril. About the same time and only a few minutes after the first car had diverted to the cart-stand, I reached Chattabal on my way home from my office. The crowd met me a furlong or so above the point where they had stopped the first car. They stood on the road to block the way. This crowd looked furious and bent on mischief.

I was in my Fiat Car driving myself with my Motabir Mahdev Koul on my left and Yusuf Khan and Tara Chand Jamadar (Government employees) seated in the dickey. As soon as I was recognized a cry was raised that I was to be special victim as I was a Government officer, and he through whom they had lost the Kingdom of Kashmir, and that my house was to be looted and destroyed. Stones were thrown on the car and parts of which were also struck with Lathies. They came to assault me but fortunately I was just on the small turning (in front of Doctor Veshnavi's house) to the Hindu Mohalla which is very close by. I rushed the car on to that by-path and jumped out and ran to seek shelter in a Hindu house. My Motabir and Tara Chand did the same. Some of the mob followed in the same attitude to the point where I had left the car. Yusuf Khan who was in the car was dragged down for his continuing in the service of Hindu and his uniform coat was torn and turban thrown away. The Hindus of the Mohalla were in serious panic and believed themselves in imminent danger. The first car which had in the meanwhile passed on sent some of my servants for my rescue. A Mohammedan of the Nalbandpura also came to my help. It was after about an hour when the mob had passed away that it was considered comparatively less risky for me to come out. I was naturally anxious to see that my people and property were safe. The Police in the Chowki Chattabal was informed of my being in peril by Prithvi Nath Madan, but they were in panic themselves and did not venture to come forth. I got again into my car in which I sat and on the mudguards of which stood my Mohammedan servant, two Police constables whom I picked up at the Police Chowki and the Nalbandpura Mohammedan. In the Nalbandpura were groups of Mohammedans uttering abuses and threats. They prepared to molest and assault me but on some sign from the Nalbandpura man, desisted. There I saw wrecks of the shops that had been looted. The ledgers and other papers were still burning on the road side. After crossing the Saffa Kadal bridge when the horn was sounded for clearing the sharp narrow turning which is there, about fifteen people rushed out of the Hindu shop and ran away. The road in front of this shop was strewn with goods and articles which had been thrown out of it and the two Police constables had to get down to clear the way for the car.

EXHIBIT No. 44.

**Translation of Vernacular Statement of Saif-ud-Din, Sub-Inspector of
Maharajganj Police Station (Witness No. 30), dated 5th August 1931.**

I was posted to this Thana on 14th Har 1988/28th June 1931 and I took over from Gian Chand, Sub-Inspector on 15th Har 1988/29th June 1931. Disturbances were even before my appointment. On 29th Har 1988/13th July 1931 at about 9-15 a. m. I left the Police station in the company of one constable Mohammad Khan in charge Police Chowki Maharajganj for the Central Jail. The City Inspector of Police had reached there before my arrival to attend the case Crown *versus* Abdul Qadeer. Many a people had assembled on back of Jail Guard Police Lines. Shortly after the Sessions Judge came in a car. The people stood up on his arrival and began to shout "Insaf Zindabad", "Abdul Qadeer Zindabad", "Islam Zindabad", "Nara-i-Takbir". The car of Sessions Judge was surrounded on all sides by the mob, but it kept on moving slowly. The crowd was swelling every minute. On the Sessions Judge entering the outer compound of the Jail I telephoned to Police Station Maharajganj and Chowki Nowhatta for the Police force. Inspector and I with the help of the Jail Guard Police force tried to shut the Police gate, but public attacked it to try to break through it. We tried to prevent and keep them back but the number being large it could not be prevented because the Police force was not sufficient enough to prevent them from getting in. The higher officers were informed on phone. A few of them entered the compound of the Jail forcibly and many of them remained outside. The crowd inside the compound attacked the inner iron gate of the Jail and began to break it and probably they succeeded in breaking the hasp of the iron gate. We advised them in vain. We posted the Police force of the Lines in front of the gate. We tried to drive the public out. Some did get out but others lingered in and the others were following them. Some people had pretended unconsciousness. Meanwhile the armed Police arrived from the Police Lines. The D. S. P. also arrived and informed the superior officers on phone regarding the situation after consulting the Sessions Judge and the Jailor. The people were still there and were making noise. The D. S. P. was driving the people out. Just at this time the D. I. G., D. M. and A. S. P. also arrived. They consulted one another and ordered that the offenders may be arrested. In obedience to this order, a few men were arrested by the Police and the crowd dispersed. But it assembled again and started pelting stones on the Police officials causing them serious injuries. I received two stones on my chest and fell down unconsciously. But keeping in view the seriousness of the situation I ventured to get up after taking two or three minutes' rest. This was evidenced by all the officers present there. The mob, in spite of our repeated warnings did not leave its post but persisted in its attack. The prisoners inside the Jail also grew unruly. The position became serious. The telephone wires were cut off and some one was shouting to set fire to Jail Police Lines. On seeing this the D. M. and the other officers thought it advisable to open fire. The armed Police was ordered to fire which resulted in the dispersal of the mob. Soon after this I saw the officers coming outside the gate. The western side of the Jail Police Line was set on fire, and the clothings of the Policemen were burnt. The State and private property of the Policemen was looted. Boxes and *charpoys* were broken. My cycle and that of the constable accompanying me were in the same Police Line. The fire was extinguished by the Policemen and the Fire Brigade employees, who had arrived by that time. Some people were dispersed by the Superintendent himself by Lathi charge; afterwards the Political Minister and I. G. P. arrived on the spot.

The Police force was sent to the city for patrol on lorries, I was also detailed with one lorry. On my way to Maharajganj I saw turmeric

and other merchandise scattered on the road at Bhuri Kadal. The shops of the Sahukars were seen broken into and looted. I also saw a druggist saying that a huge crowd of the Muslims had plundered him. I advanced a little further and saw Colonel Sutherland and the City Magistrate, who had preceded us. The same state of affairs was evident in the Maharajganj Bazar. The Hindus had been plundered and many of them were wounded. They were extremely puzzled. Goods such as tea etc., was found scattered on the ground. The Military forces and the officers were already there. Afterwards I was put on different duties. The mob had beaten the Policemen in Chowki Nowhatta and also attacked the Maharajganj Police station. I phoned to Thana Maharajganj to record the offences at the Central Jail and Maharajganj dacoity. I remained on my duty with my superior officers.

EXHIBIT No. 45.

Translation of Vernacular Statement of Munshi Abdul Aziz (Witness No. 31).

On the morning of 30th Har 1988/14th July 1931 I was in the Police Training School when the D. I. G. phoned me to go to Maharajganj. On my arrival there I was ordered to get applications from those who had already reported the occurrences to the Police and to begin writing diary regarding the report No. 86 of 1987-1988. Accordingly I took applications and started recording Police diary. I neither went to search any house nor did I receive any order to stop searches. My duty was to record Police diary, to store the property recovered by searches, to present the accused to the Magistrate on the spot and to watch the situation, in general. I performed the above duty for a few days. Thereafter I was detailed to investigate some twenty or twenty one cases and since about eleven days I have been working as an extra hand with the party of Khawaja Salam Shah, Wazir-i-Wazarat and Babu Jagan Nath, Inspector of Police, in Ward No. 4. I searched some houses in Ward No. 4.

EXHIBIT No. 46.

Written Statement of Pandit Gwash Lal, B. A., Malayar, Srinagar (Witness No. 33).

A word or two at the outset regarding myself has to be submitted in the interests of future and subsequent events narrated below; it may not very kindly be construed into harping into a personal tune; it is submitted with apologies, because it is unavoidable.

After my graduation from the Punjab University, I, besides looking after certain trade and business interests, also dabbled with politics. My enthusiasm then led me to believe that pen would be a great asset in awakening the consciousness of my dormant brethren. I then believed, as I do now, that the be-all and end-all of all right-minded persons of all types and at all times should be endeavours towards social uplift and political consciousness whose basic principle was loyalty to the throne, crown and person of the Ruler, *viz.* Raj Bhagti. To this end therefore I directed my energies and worked. During the very short period of my life, I have chequered it with experience gained by working as Executive member, Secretary, or President of various social and semi-political institutions recognized by the Government. And during this period, I have also seen different phases which a worker in the cause of his brethren has often-times to face, and I received warnings

off and on for my activities, I have seen various recognized institutions suppressed with one stroke of pen, various law-abiding workers warned off, and so on. But my connection with the Press also brought me a certain amount of notoriety.

Owing to various reasons, my statement which is to follow is mostly based on facts and information gathered and gleaned by me by various means and through different channels. I can therefore lay a claim to no glory, except it be reflected glory. My information is based on documents which can be produced if the present owner of the same who is a high officer of the Government be requested to appear before the Commission with the same. I think the gentleman and the Government can have absolutely no objection in serving the ends of justice. The gentleman's name is.....and he is the present possessor of the documents in question. Unless these are seen it will not be possible to do full justice to my statement.

2. Owing to certain reasons, which it is not intended to dwell upon here, I had an occasion to go to Jammu in the year 1930. My connection with the Press, and my notoriety as a Journalist preceded me. It was but natural for such men as were similarly interested to find that they had interest in me. It was also natural, and in the natural sequence of events that one Peer Hassam-ud-Din of Muzaffarabad also wanted to enlist my sympathies with his projects whatever they were. We owed our introduction to a mutual acquaintance. He seemed to represent to me the current thoughts of the educated Muslims. He mixed freely with various official and non-official classes of men. He was intimate with certain C. I. D. men. Except a few I donot know their names though I can identify them. He confided in me to a great extent, and also introduced me to certain leading members in public service and private enterprising and enthusiastic gentlemen.

3. He was under the impression that I wielded an amount of influence with the "Riasti Praja Mandal", and I did not find it convenient to correct him. He had in his possession a proscribed book against Maharaja Gulab Singh. He used to say that he had organised an all-round movement in the cause of the depressed classes of Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir State, and would voice their grievances through the Praja Mandal, using that as a platform, and through the Press. He was afraid I might put a spoke in his wheel with the Praja Mandal people, and therefore to show me that he reposed entire confidence in me, he used to talk freely with me, alone and in company with other Muslim leaders of public opinion, like Mr. Mohd-ud-Din Foq editor Kashmiri, and Dr. Abdul Wahid and his other satellites and co-workers. They wanted to enmesh me fully in their coils to make it physically impossible for me to stand in their way. Peer Hassam-ud-Din gave a donation of Rs. 50 in my presence to the Young Men's Muslim Association Jammu to enable the delegates to attend the All-India Kashmiri Muslim Conference. It was at his suggestion that I was also invited to attend the Conference as a visitor, though I had also received invitation direct, but the meeting being postponed, the invitation was not repeated when it actually took place later on. It was probably that the Peer had fostered doubts in their minds regarding my bona-fides.

4. Once in the outburst of confidence he gave me an outline of the constructive and destructive propaganda they had resorted to in the achievement of their desires, which were nothing, less than full-fledged independence, annihilation of Hindus and overthrow of the present Raj. As this is the only item that forms part of my statement it has to be given in detail.

5. He said that he was posing as a representative of Co-operative Banks in the Muzaffarabad District, and as such he had been introduced to Khan Bahadur Abdul Majid Khan, who was always on the lookout

for such men as would further his cause. Having established his bona-fides with the Khan Bahadur, he was introduced by him to Khalifa Abdul Rahim and Mr. G. E. C. Wakefield. Mr. Wakefield had already started work on these lines by gathering together the rowdy and unsatisfied element in the Muslims, working them up to a certain degree of temperature, then take them into hand and control them, using them as exigencies of the circumstances demanded. This network of under-hand intrigue and machinations had already been brought to a perfection by Mr. Wakefield. The chief and most important recognised public body was of course the Young Men's Muslim Association at Jammu, and it was therefore most important to keep this body entirely subservient to himself. For this purpose he had raised Khalifa to the post of the Personal Secretary, and never failed to mention to the Young Mens' Muslim Association that whatever he had done for Khalifa was done in their interests, and not for himself, and that the Khalifa had begun only as an ordinary clerk in the Revenue Minister's office, where he was not confirmed on the post carrying Rs. 35. Why Khalifa was chosen to be the recipient of these favours was because the life and soul of the Association, Allah Rakha Sagar and Alla Rakha, the former a shopkeeper, and the latter a clerk in the Inspector of Agriculture's office, were both related, one by blood and the other through the Khalifa's wife, to Khalifa. Besides it was Khalifa who had introduced Pukhraj to him. He had also served as a go-between in other nefarious ends, and was only paid his dues if any notice was taken of him at all. Be it as it may, the different centres of activities were all guided by one moving spirit and the reins of all different functioning bodies were controlled by and in possession of one master-mind. Different programmes had been chalked out, and each was responsible for the portion entrusted to him. To one was assigned propaganda which would directly benefit the intrigue. To others was entrusted the work of undermining the influence of certain officers and public servants and otherwise important and influential men with the powers that be. To others the work of organisation and fomenting of intrigues to be hatched, while some had only the mechanical part of the work to do, that is carrying messages, relief, funds, literature, etc. To Peer Hassam-ud-Din and....., was entrusted the most important part of the work. This was nothing less than amplifying the suggestions of Mr. Wakefield, in submitting false, concocted and fabricated reports about certain leading Hindu men, both public and private, which were nominated and which would be submitted to His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur by Mr. Wakefield, purported to be collected by him in the interest of the safeguards of the life of his master. This was a dozen-edged sword, and Mr. Wakefield wanted to kill a dozen birds with that stone. This would give an opportunity to him, while serving his own ends, that he was literally living his name, that is keeping wide awake in the field. And he did not tell His Highness that the complaints were all chimerical, the men all imaginary, their actions all fabricated and reports all concoctions, deliberately coined to serve a definite purpose. He wanted to poison His Highness' mind against his faithful servitors and subjects, by dissemination of doubts about their loyalty to their Ruler, who is the breath of their life and thus to wean and alienate any regard or consideration that His Highness might have for such of his servants. At the same time, being the controlling head of C. I. D. section of the Police Department, it depended on his sweet will to so assert his reports as would suit the circumstances created by him. At the same time, it would be a cloak to the machinations and intrigues started by him, nor would the faithful servitors find it ever possible to get the ear of His Highness when reporting the actual state of affairs. Mr. Wakefield having already taken advantage of his position, influence and advance that he had had, and having countered their attempts and thwarted them successfully by causing and creating such circumstances, that they had actually no locum standing, could sleep on his problems tranquilly, and leave the anxiety to others.

6. These things and many more did the Peer tell me. He told me how it was intended to paralyse the activities of the well wishers of His Highness by creating suspicion of their integrity, honesty and faithfulness in his mind. But all this is an ancient tale, and it may be said that history has only repeated itself, though with an oriental venegeance in the State.

7. He further told me that he had arranged certain code with Khan Bahadur Abdul Majid Khan, Khalifa Abdul Rahim, and with Mr. Wakefield, by means of which he would be submitting his reports. These are the documents mentioned by me, above, which are at present in possession of.....He was proud of his exploits, as he used to say with pride that their beauty lay in their simplicity. Nothing is unknown as the obvious, was never more true than this case. How these documents came in our possession, is a separate question, and may form a separate part. The authenticity of the documents is beyond doubt, as certain responsible persons in the public service of the State have attested the statement of the custodian, given by him in his own hand-writing (which also exactly tallies with that of the report) that the statements handed over by him are actually written by him. This statement can be produced for the statisfaction of the Commission.

8. A study of these documents show that a systematic agency was at work to work the ruin of certain Hindus, to permit the Muslims to work unfettered. The gigantic intrigueset at foot is probably the finest work of systemized rogue's brain. And the Peer used to take the credit of it to himself along with the arch-conspirator, Abdul Majid Khan. The Peer used to tell me that the network of different agencies set a-working at different centres would all in the next few months be intertwined with each other, so that one might support the other. He was introduced to Khawaja Nur Shah. Dr. Abdul Wahid, Nawab Khusru Jung, Ghulam Mohammed Ashie, M. S. Abdulla, etc., hereby Khan Bahadur, as their policies matured. It was also becoming necessary for them to centralise their activities and energies. In this connection, it was decided that the sympathetic attitude of the masses had to be secured by false demonstrations.

9. My statement being based on what the Peer told me has entirely to depend upon his assertions. I can prove my statement on authority of the documents which later on we succeeded in obtaining. And even then I can only say by implication, as I have nothing but the reports to go upon. The reports show ample evidence that the intrigues were morally and monitarily supported, and that the policy was guided. On the very face of it, certain portions of the reports are false to such a degree as savour of spite.

10. Before dealing cursorily with the reports submitted by the Peer to Mr. Wakefield, it would be interesting to summarise the information received by me from him:—

1. That the Peer was introduced to Khan Bahadur Abdul Majid Khan and through him to Khalifa and the Political Minister.
2. That he organized under instructions and guidance from Mr. Wakefield and Mr. Khalifa, a system of espionage over certain Hindus of undoubted integrity and loyalty, about whose ommissions and commissions, and actions he was supposed to be reporting, that all these reports were fabricated and false to serve a certain and definite purpose of the Minister.
3. That among others he was introduced to various other Muslim leaders and workers chief among whom were the

Muslim party at Kashmir and the Muslim Young Men's Association at Jammu.

4. That alongside, a constructive and educative propaganda was also to be started and worked upon, creating disaffection and unrest among the communities, by overt and covert acts.
5. That under the cloak of the espionage started for certain Hindus, their own intrigues and under-hand machinations were to be continued unfettered, as such an act would cause suspicion to lie on quarter, which never dreamt it, and would keep the Muslims safe.
6. That he was receiving monitory help from the organizers.
7. That his business was to foment unrest, disaffection and mischief wherever the soil would respond.
8. That one of his chief functions was to organise on systematic basis the inter relations of Muslim leaders in Srinagar and Jammu with those at Lahore and elsewhere, and to create a common bond of unity.

It was after Pir Hissam-ud-Din's abrupt departure from Jammu that I came to know of certain letters addressed to Khalifa Abdul Rahim, (and through him to Mr. Wakefield) through Hakim Barkat Ali of Chenani House and Maulvi Zia-ud-Din of Poonch. These letters cannot be read without the aid of the code. The central theme of these letters is to convince His Highness about the fact that the Hindus, the Rajputs, the Dogras and the Pandits were agitators, who were preparing bombs, shooting, teaching and practising it, and posting red letters and posters. Further that this conspiracy against His Highness was fostered and patronised by leading public men like Mr. Wattal, Thakur Kartar Singh Ji, Major General Janak Singh Ji, Colonel Gandharb Singh Ji, etc. and other non-official public men who had their own interests to safeguard. It was thus intended to keep His Highness unaware of actual facts of the situation. The hatred of the Hindu community was the gospel which the Peer and people like him had to preach.

11. A superficial knowledge of politics in Kashmir as well as reading between the lines of the reports submitted by the party to Mr. Wakefield is enough to convince a man to see that certain of his conclusions are only foregone. The general attitude of Mr. Wakefield towards the Muslims, of which he gave indisputable proof at every step, is obvious and glaringly evident. When this side of the situation is understood much of the history that was not now understood can easily be translated. There was some underlying idea in permitting the members of the Young Mens' Association to utilise part of the area attached to the Residency Grounds at Jammu, as the ground of their Volley Ball, as this also gave them full opportunities to see each other unfettered without discipline or formalities. (It is to be remembered that the Residency is situated at Jammu towards the extreme end, beyond which there is no habitation or any road). That is also why the members of the Association who were State servants rose from ordinary constable's post to the post of the Superintendent Fire Brigade, Jammu and Kashmir. That is also why the promulgation of the Agriculturists' Relief Regulation was supported and passed in the teeth of strong one-community opposition. It is an open secret now that this measure was passed more to spite the Hindus than to cause any immediate or mediate advantage to the Muslims. The Muslims have in the long run been the losers, though it has had its devastating effect on the few too. We also know and do not need anything but a pair of observant eyes to see that, Midas-loke, whosoever touched Mr. Wakefield was literally turned into gold. Whether Mr. Wakefield obtained any advantage from him later or not is a different matter. We also know that

the announcement of filling of certain vacancies in the Srinagar Municipality that Muslims exclusively would be preferred, was intended to kill two birds with one stone, of pleasing the Muslims and of bringing it home to the consciousness of Hindus that such things were not only possible but practical, and practicable. We also need not recapitulate that one Abdul Majid a clerk of K. B. Abdul Majid Khan, was very keenly interesting himself with copies of such papers as Inqilab and Kashmiri Musalman which he distributed and the subject matter of which he used to openly preach, and thus render the soil already prepared, more susceptible to the impressions to be later on affixed. It is a matter of history now that it was discussed in a strictly confidential meeting of the powers that be that the policy adopted by the Inqilab, being inflammatory and derogatory, steps should be taken to stop its further activities. This sane proposal was, then and there, met with an antagonism which was only natural, as such a step would have materially interfered with the policy adopted by its adherents and sympathisers. Instead, all weight seemed to have been given to the venom expressed there in the paper, and it was suggested that the better course would be to meet the charges and issue a statement in justification. This was all done confidentially. A very few days after, this very Abdul Majid was found to point with suspicious interest to an article in the Inqilab, relating to the incident above-mentioned. If anything, it makes the matters more suspicious. This Abdul Majid, I understand, has received certain warnings till now, but what matters the dependents when the principal is sure. We also know the interest taken by Mr. Wakefield in getting the Sunrise, an entirely Mohammaden paper on the approved list of papers. And one thousand and one such and similar instances could be quoted.

12. Nothing seems to crown my rambling statement above, more aptly than an illustration of the principle advanced by me that what was considered meat for one man was used with the deadliest effect as poison to the other. The two communities were like pawns to be shunted here and there at the sweet will of the master-mind. The in-born and innate ideas of arch-Imperialism may by some be considered responsible for the mind which guided the function. The propaganda at present in vogue among certain circles in the Punjab and elsewhere, that is to see a Muslim India in place of Hindu India or even Indian India, has been adopted here with a vengeance. Kashmir, with the accident of a Hindu Ruler, had necessarily to be overhauled, and I got a personal confirmation of this sort of agitation, when I visited Lahore as the guest of All-India Muslim Kashmiri Conference Lahore. Among others I was introduced to Saliq, editor of the Inqilab, from where we in a party proceeded to see Mr. Iqbal. Mr. Iqbal emphasized the necessity of fomenting such a spirit of unrest and agitation, as would naturally result in a complete upheaval. He was assured that all steps were taken towards this goal. We have observed that such persons as are above reproach and beyond blemish like Mr. C. R. Dass and Lala Lajpat Rai were not permitted to enter and to speak when they visited Kashmir. On the other hand we see that persons like Maulana Zaffar Ali Khan were permitted to utilise the platform of the Young Men's Association Jammu to propound to their antagonistic and inflammatory ideas. We also find that certain papers whose policy was not found suited to the interests of certain persons or even to the State, were black-listed, while other more poisonous and more dangerous than anything were permitted to go on. We find that the activities of young Muslims at Jammu and elsewhere in the recent alleged complaint of disrespect to the holy Quran, were not stopped or thwarted. We find also that the ring-leader who suffered the situation to arise which is practically tantamount to defying law and flouting flagrantly the word and spirit of law are still unmolested and run amock. The contrast on the other hand of suppressing the Dogra Sabha, the Kashmir Young Mens' Club at Srinagar, and the "Ranbir" at a moment's notice is also very interesting. I do not mean to say directly or by implication that the action taken by the Government in suppressing such institutions at that or any other time

was not wise or anything of that sort. No, far from that, what I mean to submit is that if that or some such sort of action was considered necessary and imperative in the interests of law and order then, why should have no such action been taken in similar matters later on. To prosecute L. Hans Raj of Jammu or to incarcerate S. Budh Singh and Vishwa Nath Kerni was considered expedient owing to the situation then arising, but was it not necessary to take some such action against certain persons more guiltily engaged than others. On the other hand I have seen myself along with a certain Sub-Inspector of Police, whose name I do not know but whom I can identify, that the Peer mentioned above was one day quite destitute of any ready money, so that the hotel-keeper where he had been putting up had threatened him with drastic measures. I was there with the Sub-Inspector at the time with the Peer. The Peer apologised and wanted to go out for half an hour for which time he requested us to wait. After half an hour he returned with several hundred rupees in currency notes and then and there cleared his old outstandings. That speaks much for itself. A stitch in time is said to save a lot of trouble but was that stitch applied is my question and contention.

13. I respectfully beg to draw the kind attention of the Commission to the curious coincidence in the statement referred to by me above. In his reports he says at many a time that he has made all necessary arrangements at Jammu, Srinagar Lahore, Samba and Mirpur. He is expected to mean that he has either nullified the intrigues which he has observed of that he has completed his own function whatever it be. Has it struck the observer that the recent disturbances all started at these very five centres, and that this is a very curious thing. The Peer on the other hand was confident that this sort of action that he was taking was exactly calculated to serve the purpose they desired, that is by poisoning the Ruler's ears with these chimerical tales, they would help the Ruler and the Muslims by rising against the Hindus, and killing and plundering them serve their own ends as well as make a religious virtue of it. How far they have succeeded in this their nefarious plot, is not my province to mention, and can be seen. It will be a safe presumption if we go so far as to say that, even if intimation of such intrigues that were hatched, did, if ever, reach the authorities no action seems to have been taken on them.

14. My statement is based, as already submitted on the authority of another, and I have taken care to speak, wherever I did above, only up to the time the recent happenings occurred. I want to make it clear that I do not yet intend speaking on the actual disturbances.

I submit the statement without fear or favour, in confident hopes of assurance meted out to all by our august Ruler, in his announcement appointing the Commission.

EXHIBIT No. 47.

Translation of Vernacular Statement of Babu Anand Sarup, Assistant Superintendent Police Srinagar (Witness No. 34), dated 8th August 1931.

In compliance with your letter No. 183, dated 6th August 1931, I beg to submit my statement as under:—

On 21st July 1931 I received an anonymous application in Urdu under a confidential cover from D. M. Srinagar under his endorsement No. C-106, dated 19th July 1931. The above application stated briefly that a conspiracy was formed to set fire to Khanabal and Sangam Bridges. The town of Anantnag was also said to be in danger.

Another anonymous application in English was also received on the same date from the District Magistrate Srinagar, under his endorsement No. 112-C. The contents of the application were the same as of the previous one.

The order on both the above applications was to watch the situation. These were received by me on 21st July 1931/6th Sawan 1988, on my return from Pahalgam where I had gone on tour.

Sometimes before 5th Sawan 1988, the Governor had sent in telegram to the Tehsildar Anantnag to the effect that the Zaildars and Lambardars may be made responsible for the maintenance of the peace of their respective Ilaqas and that they should also watch the bridges and telegraph lines etc. These orders were duly complied with.

On 6th Sawan 1988/21st July 1931 the D. I. G. inquired from me about the above-mentioned applications. He further asked me regarding the action taken on them. I told him that it was easy to arrange for the protection of Khanabal bridge through the local Police and the Chowkidars as it was near Anantnag. But that for want of sufficient force Sangam bridge could not be watched although the Lambardars and Chowkidars would be made responsible for the protection of that bridge.

On 7th Sawan 1988/22nd July 1931 I left for Pahalgam under orders of D. I. G. and D. M. I returned the same evening. On the same day I consulted the Tehsildar and proposed that both of us should instruct the Lambardars to be responsible for the safety of the telegraph lines and the bridges. Accordingly on the following day Tehsildar and myself reached Sangam and called upon the Lambardars and Chowkidars of the Marhama village to instruct them to be responsible for the safety of the bridges and telegraph lines specially Sangam bridge. I made the following entry on the village book of Chowkidar in the presence of the Tehsildar. On 8th Sawan 1988/23rd July 1931 "today at Sangam the Lambardars and Chowkidars of Marhama have been directed to watch the Sangam bridge and telegraph lines etc. in their respective Ilaqas". After this we returned to Anantnag and concentrated ourselves to finding out the writers of the anonymous applications.

Learning that the Sangam bridge had been burnt I reached there. On the morning of 15th Sawan 1988/30th July 1931, in the company of the Munsiff and Tehsildar of Anantnag. The Munsiff inspected the village book of the Chowkidars and attested my remarks made thereon.

EXHIBIT No. 49.

Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Mian Singh, Sub-Inspector Training School (Witness No. 35).

I beg to state that on 29th Har 1988, at about 1 p. m. a message was received from the Police Lines for detailing ten Policemen under the orders of the D. I. G. The order was complied with by Inspector Babu Baij Nath. At about 2 p. m. the orders modified and the full force of the Training School was called for. This order too was obeyed and all men with the exception of a few who were kept for guard in the school were instructed to go to the Police Lines. They were provided with Lathies and rifles and sent to the Jail in lorries. My lorry was the last and the force in it was armed with Lathies. I had got a Pistol. On our arrival there, we met D. I. G., D. S. P., D. M., A. D. M. and other officers present there. The D. I. G. ordered me to return with the armed force and arrange for the protection of the bungalows of the officers. On this I said that the force was not armed. The D. I. G. ordered me to get

arms from the other force. I managed accordingly and brought back twelve men with me (six armed with rifles and six with Lathies) in a lorry. At the time of our departure, the D. S. P. in the presence of D. I. G. and D. M. warned us that there was every likelihood of our being attacked by the mob and that we should be careful not to loose our rifles. In case of emergency we were instructed to open fire. Abdul Aziz, Fire Brigade Superintendent, requested me to accommodate him in the lorry as well. He had to go for the search of his two missing firemen.

Near Kathi Darwaza which is at a short distance from the Jail, a huge crowd of Muslims assaulted us by throwing stones. They shouted that the Police must be caught hold of and beaten. The wind screen of the lorry was smashed and stones started coming inside the lorry. The attack was so severe that it was impossible to walk on the road. Just at that time I heard two or three shots being fired from the back side of the lorry. I was sitting with the driver on the front seat. The mob retreated and we started towards the city. On inquiry it was found that the shots were fired to protect rifles and to disperse the crowd. No injury was caused. We left the Superintendent in his office. Some of the Policemen were detailed to the houses of the officers as directed and the rest were put on different duties.

EXHIBIT No. 50.

Written Statement of Pandit Jia Lal Durbari, Sub-Inspector under training (Witness No. 36), dated 22nd Sawan 1988.

It was at about 1 p. m. on the 29th of Har 1988, that an alarm was sounded under orders of Inspector L. Baij Nath and Th. Mian Singh, Sub-Inspector, Instructors of the Police Training School and some men out us were then sent along with the Lines people in a lorry to Jail. Later on at about two we were arranged in two batches and sent under command of Inspector L. Baij Nath and Th. Mian Singh respectively. Inspector Baij Nath's lorry went first. Th. Mian Singh's lorry went after him. I was in Th. Mian Singh's lorry, and had in *danda* with me. The lorry stopped outside the Jail premises just in the front of Police Barracks, where on alighting from the lorry I saw the District Magistrate, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Superintendent of Police, Additional District Magistrate, Inspector City and several others standing there. Th. Mian Singh who was in-charge of our lorry was ordered to return along with his men and post armed men at the residences of some of the officials present there and then to patrol the city. There were no muskets with us excepting Th. Mian Singh who had a revolver. I had thus consequently to take the musket along with ten cartridges from one Noor Mohammed Khan, Probationary Head-constable, also under training and gave him my *danda* instead. Th. Mian Singh, our instructor, who was in-charge of us was particularly instructed by Mr. Thappa, Deputy Superintendent Police that he felt sure that there would be 99 per cent. attack upon him and his men and that he should be careful that he does not lose his muskets and that he should open fire should any such contingency arise. Th. Mian Singh took his seat with the driver, I took the next front seat facing towards the driver. Sh. Abdul Majid, Superintendent Fire Brigade, sat in front of me facing towards me and the back portion of the lorry. When we reached near Kathi Darwaza, the mob consisting of about more than 1,000 (one thousand) persons, all Muslmans, blocked our way leading towards Rainawari and Gurdwara Chhati Badshahi and commenced pelting stones on us, with the result that we had to move a few paces onwards on the road, leading towards Juma Mosque instead of turning to the left which was our proper course. We were thus surrounded on all sides by the infuriated mob who were crying aloud "Catch hold of these Policemen

and kill them ". The attitude of the mob was threatening. In an instant the mob came now very close to the lorry and the situation appeared to be fraught with danger. The glass secreens in front of the driver were smashed to pieces by the pelting of stones and the stones began to pour in with redoubled vigour. Just at this time I heard some two or three shots being fired from the back portion of the lorry whereupon the croud that had blocked our way dispersed and we then went our way. Near about Sora Teng Sh. Abdul Majid requested Th. Mian Singh to take him to Fire Brigade Post Rainawari, where, he said, he had to enquire about his missing men. After dropping him at his residence we set to posting men at the residences of the District Magistrate, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Superintendent Police, Additional District Magistrate and others. After we had finished with this we commenced patrolling the city uptil ten in the night. I returned the ten cartridges in tact to the Lines people and took a revolver instead.

EXHIBIT No. 51.

**Translation of Vernacular Statement of Balmokand Saraf of Sargodha
at present Zaina Kadal, Srinagar (Witness No. 37).**

Our shop is situated in Gadda Bazar at Zaina Kadal Srinagar, Kashmir. We are wholesale dealers in Gold, Silver, Copper, silk cord and Raffal cloth. On Monday the 29th Har 1988/13th July 1931 at about 2 p. m. I left my shop for Amira Kadal, when I reached in the Chowk of Gadda Bazar some Muslims from Bhuri Kadal side came bare-headed and began to say "O Muslims shut up your shops, you have been fired at the Jail and your nine men have been killed". On hearing these words the Mohammedans began to close their shops. At this time I saw a huge mob coming from Jail side of the Maharajganj with a wounded man on a *charpoy*. I saw the signs of blood coming out of the wounded man's legs. The mob was speaking against His Highness. They were also saying "catch hold of the Hindus, loot them and kill them". The wounded man on the *charpoy* was not dead. As soon as the mob arrived on the bridge, a few out of them began to strike blows and Lathies on a Policeman on duty. This caused his turban to fall down. He appeared to be a Hindu. On this I gave up going to Amira Kadal and came back to my shop. I saw my two brothers closing their shops just like other shop-keepers. The mob, leaving the wounded man somewhere, came back in the Gadda Bazar saying "catch hold of the Hindus, plunder them and kill them". Hearing these words some of the Hindu shop-keepers ran away to their houses and some closed their shops from inside. We all the three brothers closed our shop and sat down in front of it. The mob seized us starting beating. We said to them "why do you beat us what damage have we done, we have closed our shop as desired by you and we are waiting to go to Amira Kadal". The mob would not listen and kept on beating us. Some were saying that they would avenge the nine shot dead at the Jail by killing 900 Hindus, some were saying that they would murder all the Kashmiri Pandits and Hindus. I received a big stone on my forehead which caused a serious injury and resulted in coming out of the blood from my forehead. All my clothes were stained with blood and I fell down. Shortly after I got up and saw that the mob was throwing stones at my brothers as well who returned the attack by way of defence. My brothers received simple injuries and said that they shall be held up for pelting stones. Upon this the mob dispersed but continued throwing stones from at a distance. On the receding of the mob we took refuge in the house of a Hindu who gave us shelter in the upper storey. The mob took away my turban which was more blood-stained. The remaining clothes I beg to present. We got some ghee and sugar from the host and came to consciousness. We saw many Muslims armed with Lathies going towards Maharajganj. Sometime after we saw

them returning with the looted property such as tea, silk, Pashmina and silk cord etc. and going towards Zaina Kadal and Bhuri Kadal. Two men were saying loudly "don't be afraid plunder the Hindus, Islam prevails". The loot continued for about two hours. We were looking all this and thinking of the failure of the Government to control the situation. At about 4-15 p. m. some Cavalry men 20 or 25 in number passed by that bazar. We explained to them our position and informed them of the Maharajganj loot. They encouraged us and said "come down don't be anxious, no one will beat you, proper arrangements shall be made". The Cavalry men left the Maharajganj and we came down the bazar and heard that the Muslims had looted the property of Hindus worth lacs of rupees. Sugar and salt had been thrown in the river, *Bhehi Khatas* of many shop-keepers had been burnt. We also heard that the shops of Hindus had been looted in Bhuri Kadal bazar. We saw a Police lorry going towards Maharajganj and we were relieved to find that loot would come to an end. Then we came towards Zaina Kadal and found eighteen or twenty Policemen alighting from a lorry. We expressed all that had happened to them. The Sub-Inspector told us that they met the same treatment at the Central Jail. He also asked us if we required their help to go to our homes or to the hospital. We replied "our family is at Amira Kadal we may be made to reach there safely". The Sub-Inspector gave us a guard of two Policemen armed with Lathies who drove us in a lorry to Amira Kadal. We are highly indebted to the Sub-Inspector. When we reached our house at Amira Kadal near Ismail building opposite to Muslim Bank many people came to inquire about Maharajganj riots. Two Police officers happened to come there. Out of them was Sheikh Aziz Din, D.I.G. of Police. I showed to him blood-stained clothes and explained what had happened. I told him that they met bad luck in his time and the Hindu shop-keepers of Maharajganj have suffered a loss of lacs of rupees. Many Hindus have been wounded and many killed. We got serious injuries but suffered no loss of property. The D. I. G. listened to us attentively and the other officer in his company told him that he should hasten to Maharajganj. We told them "what is the use of your going to Maharajganj when the Hindus have already suffered a great loss during your term of office. Go and take rest in your house, smoke cigarettes and get your pay from His Highness". Hearing this they went away. After them came the Governor and the City Magistrate in a car. They also noticed us and heard the story. Whosoever came to see us we explained to him all the facts relating to Maharajganj loot. We sent for Dr. Attri to our house. He examined all the injuries and began the treatment. After about 15 days we were cured. On 2nd Sawan 1938/17th July 1931 some one told us that there was a rumour that we would be attacked again for giving information regarding the loot to the Police officers. On solemn affirmation this is my statement.

If the Military help could be extended to Maharajganj and Bhuri Kadal the Hindus would never have suffered the calamity. We further beg to suggest that the posting of the Military and the Police is essential throughout the city. Military should patrol permanently Maharajganj and other adjoining bazars. Maharajganj is a commercial centre, the merchants and shop-keepers keep a stock of merchandise worth lacs of rupees. There is overwhelming Muslim population on that side. There is every fear of an another attack, in case the Military force is removed the rumour is afloat that on the Durbar move to Jammu and the removal of Military the Muslims shall again assault the Hindus. It is requested again to keep the Military posted permanently in order to save our lives and property. We have already sustained a huge loss simply because the Government head-quarters and Military quarters are far away from Maharajganj.

EXHIBIT No. 52.

Written Statement of Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, President, Sanatan Dharam Youngmen's Association, Srinagar (Witness No. 38).

THE SANATAN DHARMA YOUNGMEN'S ASSOCIATION,
SRINAGAR.

THE KASHMIR HINDUS AND THE RECENT DISTURBANCES.

[The following note has been prepared for the Sanatan Dharma Youngmen's Association, Kashmir, Srinagar, and is meant for presentation to the Enquiry Commission appointed by His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir to enquire into the recent disturbances. The conclusions set forth are based on unimpeachable evidence of persons who had direct knowledge of the several events dealt with herein. A Special Committee was appointed by the Association soon after the disturbances to go round and collect evidence on spot. Every statement of fact has been carefully verified by the Committee.]

For a proper appreciation of the present situation, it is important to refer to a few facts that are obvious from a study of the history of Kashmir. The contribution of Kashmir Hindus to the Aryan arts, literature, philosophy, and culture during the Hindu Period is too well known to require a mention here. Then followed the Muslim rule of 600 years and for the larger portion of this period, the Kashmir Hindus were a hunted and persecuted community. The majority of them were converted to Islam at the point of the sword, and large numbers had to leave hearth and home to seek refuge elsewhere in India. The inherent love of learning which characterised the Kashmir Hindu did, however, assert itself; and he adapted himself to the altered conditions of life and mastered the Muslim culture and literature. His contribution to it also is not a mean one. The Muslims of Kashmir, though they had forsaken their Hindu religion, did not so adapt themselves to the new circumstances, with the result that even during the Muslim rule, the Kashmir Hindus and not the Kashmir Muslims, formed the literary class. In the comparatively settled times of the great Zain-ul-Abdin (about 145 A. D.) and of the early Muguls, the Kashmir Hindus were held in high esteem. Even so late as the second decade of the last century, they changed the Government of the country, under the leadership of Birbaldar and Mirza Dar and rescued themselves and the land from the tyranny and barbarism of the Pathan rule by bringing Sikhs to Kashmir. Commanding the influence of being king-makers, the Kashmir Hindus filled the most important administrative posts under the regims of the Sikh governors as well as the first two Dogra rulers. Under Maharajas Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh, the Kashmir Hindus, were the Governors of both the Provinces, the Accountant-General, the Development Ministers and other high officers.

2. During the late Maharaja Pratap Singh's rule, English education was introduced in the State: the Kashmir Hindus, as usual, took full and early advantage of it while (as usual again) his Muslim countrymen lagged behind, inspite of special Muslim scholarships and liberal grants-in-aid. Naturally the Kashmir Hindu was recruited in the lower grades of the clerical establishment. Barring the first years of his rule when he was "condemned unheard", Maharaja Pratap Singh's time was characterised by a general improvement in the administration of the State. "What with the opening up of the interior of the country by a net-work of district roads providing telerable means of transport

and traffic, construction of the Jhelum Valley and Banihal Cart Roads linking the State with the outside world, cash assessment of land revenue giving a full control to the agriculturist over the produce of his land, codification of revenue and tenancy laws establishing security of tenure, introduction of primary education and co-operative credit, suppression of forced labour, enforcement of laws against alienation of land, construction of irrigation canals ensuring a dependable water supply and other salutary measures, the standard of living among the peasant classes has risen and a general improvement is markedly perceptible".

3. During the closing years of his reign, the Punjab communal politics crossed the State boundaries for the first time. Serious allegations were made against his rule and the matter was represented to H. E. Lord Reading, the then Viceroy of India. *The allegations were scrutinised and proved to be grossly malicious and untrue.* The leaders of the agitation were punished. Mr. Said-ud-Din Shawl was externed; a Muslim Tehsildar Mr. Noor Shah Nakshbandi, was forced to resign and Mr. Hassan Shah Nakshbandi's Jagir was confiscated.

4. On his accession to the throne, His present Highness announced that his religion was Justice. *His love for his Muslim subjects is sufficiently evidenced by his participation in Id prayers.* He granted land for Id-gah at Jammu and had a compound wall built round it. Boons were announced relieving the peasantry which is mainly Muslim, of some unpaid revenue arrears and granting them facilities in the matter of grazing-lands for cattle and transferring "Khalsa" lands to them. *He granted pardon to Messrs. Said-ud-Din Shawl and Noor Shah and restored the Jagir of Mr. Hassan Shah Nakshbandi.* Mr. Noor Shah has been promoted since his re-employment. Only a few months back, His Highness conferred further boons on the agricultural classes, remitting revenue arrears amounting to lacs of rupees, and extending the term of Settlement from 20 to 40 years. Indeed he has all along shown great solicitude for the welfare of the classes as well as the masses of his subjects. 9 years ago in his capacity as Senior Minister to his uncle the late Maharaja, he had the definition of the term "State Subjects" made more stringent. He issued orders for reserving public offices and grants of land for State subjects only. *As the Hindus on account of their education were better represented in the services than their Muslim countrymen, this policy of protection was ultimately designed in the main to help the Muslims of the State.* He also took steps to relieve the indebtedness of the peasant classes. Regulations were passed stopping all "Shali" trade. Special Benches were established in the Kashmir Valley to decide under summary procedure all cases arising out of what may be called "Shali-advance" contracts. Out of 17,279 suits, 8,189 were dismissed, causing a heavy loss to a section of the Hindus. The decreed amount was to be paid in ludicrously easy instalments. The Grain Control Department of Kashmir which was set up 8 or 9 years ago *has assured the producer a fair price for the yield of his land* and protected him from the profiteering middleman whose speculation had brought him a profit of over 200 per cent. at the cost of both the consumer and the producer. A sum of Rs. 12,00,000 is disbursed annually in advance without interest to facilitate the payment of revenue by the peasantry.

5. Since the outset of His Highness' rule, Mr. G. E. C. Wakefield has been virtually at the helm of affairs. A definitely pro-Muslim policy has been in operation during all this period presumably with His Highness' consent. In order to liquidate rural indebtedness not covered by the Grain Regulation, the Agriculturists' Relief Regulation was hurried through with retrospective effect, behind the back of the Hindus, involving them in an incalculable loss of money. The Land Alienation Act was extended to save Muslim peasants from losing their landed proprietorship. *Confidential circulars were issued, instructing Heads of Departments to recruit candidates for certain appointments from Muslims exclusively.*

Ill-qualified and nil-qualified Muslims were given preference over highly qualified Hindus.* Many instances of supersession of capable and energetic Hindu officials by their Muslim subordinates of indifferent merit can be cited. Only last year, 4 Muslim graduates in law fresh from the University were appointed Munsiffs over the heads of over a dozen highly qualified Hindu candidates of many years standing, whose seniority had been established by an order of His Highness himself. The Scholarship Selection and the Civil Service Recruiting Boards seem to have been designed simply to create new opportunities for Muslims. Scholarships were granted to Muslim graduates to qualify in law in British Indian and English Universities, although no such scholarships have ever been awarded to Hindus. In the Executive line claims of qualified and approved Hindu candidates were overlooked in favour of unqualified Muslims. It is notorious that Mr. Wakefield issued an order to the Srinagar Municipality to select "only Muslims" for certain vacancies, although trained Hindu graduates with special training for those posts were available and there were no Muslims of the requisite qualifications. What wonder is there that scores of starving Hindu graduates declared their preparedness to accept Islam in order to be considered for these posts? It is a long tale too woeful to narrate in full, and all this because His Highness is a Hindu and his religion is Justice.

6. It is evident that the Maharaja has done more for his Muslim subjects than even a Muslim Prince could or would do for them. Mainly to benefit the Muslims of Kashmir, His Highness has made primary education free and compulsory in the cities of Srinagar and Jammu and other townships in the State; the Hindus, especially of Kashmir who pleaded for the measure did not want it for themselves as education was already universal among them. These may be unpalatable facts, but they are there to prove that His Highness was consciously biased in favour of his Muslim subjects. His Highness has allowed an ever-increasing recruitment of Muslims, irrespective of qualifications, both in Government and in his household. This is one of the causes that has emboldened the local Muslims, with the result that is all too obvious. But, however, much he tried to placate them, they only showed themselves to be more implacable.

7. The foregoing survey must prove useful for a true assessment of the recent Muslim agitation in and outside the State.

8. An adequate explanation for the recent occurrences which culminated in the rebellion on the 13th July, 1931, must be sought in the violent propaganda persistently carried on in the Punjab Muslim Press. The agitation to secure "Muslim rights" was being vigorously carried on for a number of years by the Punjab Muslim Press, the All-India Kashmiri Muslim Conference, the Simla Kashmiri Muslim Board and the Punjab Labour Board. Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal's presidential address, at the last session of the All-India Muslim League openly advocated a Muslim confederacy for North-Western India, which inevitably fired the imagination of certain of our educated Muslim countrymen. In December 1930, was held a session of the All-India Kashmiri Muslim Conference presided over by the Nawab of Dacca who, in his fiery address, declared that it was a matter of shame for the Muslim majority to be ruled by the Hindu minority. The Jammu Muslim Young Men's Association sent its volunteers to the conference, who returned fully imbued with the violent communalistic ideas expressed at the conference. The only Muslim who dared to stand up to explain the true facts was hooted down. Then followed, one after another, in quick succession, the Muslim Vernacular papers the *Inqilab*, the *Kashmiri Musalman*, the *Kashmiri Mazloom* and the *Hatta Hayo* and the *Sunrise* organ of the Ahmadiya Community—all publishing virulent articles against the Hindu Dogra Raj, inciting the Muslims to stand up and fight for their rights, which it was repeated were being trampled upon. The papers besides circulating false news and making personal attacks on His Highness and his Hindu Ministers raised the very dangerous cry of "Islam in danger" in order to

* Vide Appendix IV.

kindle the religious fanaticism of our Muslim countrymen. The *Daur-i-Jadid* of Lahore, dated the 1st July 1931, announced that a few leaders from the Punjab who were not very well known and could go about undetected, would be sent for purposes of political propaganda to His Highness' territory. It is significant that steps were taken to ensure the circulation of the more objectionable papers by despatching them in parcels to the address of an obscure Muslim gentleman at Sangin Darwaza, Srinagar. The papers were then hawked about by the volunteer corps.

9. The restriction placed by the State Regulation on the freedom of press and platform affected only the Hindu subjects of His Highness and non-communal and nationalistic organisations. In the first place, for fear of embarrassing His Highness' Government which was already an eye-sore to Muslim agitators of the Punjab, Hindus would not think of breaking the laws of the land. In the second place, the mildest criticism of the Government by a Hindu would bring down upon him condign punishment. The suppression of the Youngmen's Club, Srinagar, the Dogra Sabha, Jammu and Kashmir and the weekly Ranbir, the only paper in the State; the severe action taken against those who were supposed to have had anything to do, directly or indirectly with the *hartal* and the procession of the 6th of May 1930 (the day following the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi)—all these and other doings of the Government prove beyond reasonable doubt that no movement promoted by non-communal Hindus or designed to foster a spirit of nationalism, however, loyal, would be allowed to rear its head. The weekly Ranbir was indeed loyal to a fault. It was suppressed merely for publishing an account of the happenings at Jammu on the 6th of May 1930. The Dogra Sabha has consistently eschewed all hot politics. Its tone was moderation itself, and it counted extremely cautious men, Hindus and Muslims, (popularly known as toadies) among leaders. Yet it had to be disbanded because a certain somebody in the State would not endure the least shadow or semblance of nationalism within the State. The Police Minister whose equanimity, as we shall see later, was not at all disturbed by the violent anti-Hindu and anti-Government activities of the Muslim hot-gospellers for months together, was so upset by the happenings of the 6th of May that he abused the President of the Jammu Municipality for not having been able to stop the *hartal* with the result that the latter had to resign. To reward him for keeping his school open on the *hartal* day, the Muslim Headmaster of the Islamia High School, Jammu, a third class M. A. was appointed to the post of Lecturer in English, P. W. College, Jammu, in preference to a first class first M. A. Hindu, though the school boys, from the mere fact of their belonging to an Islamia School, would not have participated in the demonstrations. A Hindu principal of a college was punished for not having done what no other principal in any college in India was able to do *i. e.*, make the students abstain from joining the *hartal*. From the past record of a highly capable Hindu Professor of a college who had months before presided over an academic debate on the subject "should students take part in politics?" cause was found for his dismissal. But the work of the Hindu Head-master who did what no other head of a large educational institution consisting mainly of Hindu boys could do on the occasion that is, shutting his boys in the school building, was not considered even worthy of mention. Paranthetically, it may be stated that no action whatsoever has been taken against the Muslim schools that observed *hartal* before and after the recent riot. The Dogra Sabha was the one Association that provided a common platform for all the communities of His Highness' subjects. It has had several Muslim presidents. The Sabha had a broad non-communal outlook on social and political problems of the State. If it ever swerved from that ideal, it was only to gain the good-will of the Muslim community as such. The incarceration of Sardar Budh Singh is another instance in point. A Sub-Divisional Magistrate and Wazir-i-Wazarat, this man of saintly character resigned his comfortable post to serve his countrymen irres-

pective of caste and creed. He always used his influence in building communal unity and trying to raise the poor and the depressed. Yet he was thought to be a dangerous character and was "buried alive" in the Bahu Fort, Jammu. Papers like the *Milap* and the *Partap* were black-listed, notwithstanding their loyalty towards His Highness whose cause they always espoused. All this has been mentioned to show how strong the attitude of the Government could be against anything that it considered undesirable.

10. On the other hand, our Muslim countrymen were allowed openly to preach disaffection and provoke communal hatred against the Hindus. Some Muslim officers charged with gross mismanagement on the basis of unchallengeable documentary proof, were screened. The case of the Director General of Co operation and Agriculture is in point. Mr. G. A. Ashai was only retired on pension, although very serious charges were made against him. Whether under cover of the houses of God or outside, by means of unlawful meetings and processions, our Muslim countrymen were allowed to preach open sedition and class-hatred at Jammu and Srinagar. The Jammu Muslim Young Men's Association grew stronger every day and seditious meetings were held very frequently. The authorities seemed to have forgotten the very existence of the standing regulations for seditious meetings which would not have allowed the holding of a single meeting. The agitation intensified during His Highness' absence in Europe. It was this young Muslim party that was mainly responsible for the agitation against His Highness on his return.

11. About this time one Faqir Abubarkat Mohammed Shah Fazil, Sejada Nishin of Jalalpur, President of "Hizbi-Ullah" (Military of God), visited Jammu and Kashmir and distributed pamphlets and organized Muslim youngmen. In Srinagar the effect was electric. A secret organisation was formed which was named "Khudai Faujdar" or "B. H. P. D." Club. Members were enrolled on the strict understanding that they would be ever ready "to do and die". They had their own uniforms and badges; it is they who established Mohalla branches all over the city and carried on propaganda in every Mohalla keeping alive the bitterness and communal animosity roused by the speeches of Messrs. Ghulam Nabi, a second year student, Mohammed Amin, Bar-at-Law, Maulvi Abdulla Vakil, Maulana Saliq of Aligarh, Maulvi Zia-ud-Din and others.

A few more facts that have an indirect bearing on the present discussion may as well be mentioned here. Last year, a well known Muslim communist Mr. Subhani visited Kashmir. He came in direct touch with Maulvi Abdulla Vakil and some Muslim youngmen. Though a communist and not a communalist, his teaching could not but be interpreted by his hearers to mean a plea for a general uprising. For some time past Maulvi Abdulla Vakil who is the head of the Ahmadiyas in Kashmir had been trying to unite Muslims of all sections in order to gain influence over large audiences so necessary for successful dissemination of his ideas. But he had failed. The death of the late Mir Waiz, however, provided him with an opportunity to join hands with leaders of the volunteer organisation. The new Mir Waiz, Mr. Usuf Shah was easily won over.

13. Batches of volunteers were sent out into the countryside to fan the flame and keep their coreligionists in the villages and the towns informed of their actions in the city of Srinagar. Some malcontents, notably Mr. G. A. Ashai, M. A., who was prematurely retired from service on very serious charges of bribery and misconduct, and Mr. S. M. Abdulla, M. Sc., a teacher in the Government High School, seized this opportunity for winning glory and name by openly indentifying themselves with the movement which was fast spreading, based as it was on religious fanaticism. Is it not a matter of great surprise

that the Government which had exhibited such reactionary attitude in the case of institutions and persons referred to in para. 9 above, should have allowed this anti-Hindu, anti-His Highness and anti-Government propaganda to walk the land unchecked and uninterfered? It should be borne in mind that the Government took drastic action in connection with the happenings of the 6th May 1930 before even the sun had set in the same day. While in this case, the orgies of the 13th July had to be perpetrated to compel the attention of the authorities and even then unlawful meetings continue to be held.

14. For months, the Government was openly challenged and threatened with dire consequences if it did not accede to the their "demands" which had been formulated under several heads. It may safely be asserted that not one of these demands will stand unbiased examination; and though the Muslim Press bolstered up certain grievances yet not a single article could argue the existence of any legitimate grievance or justify unconstitutional and violent methods of agitation. Inflammatory speeches were delivered and the credulous and illiterate masses were incited to violence against the "enemies" of their religion. False alarms were raised that Islam was in danger and Hindu Raj was held responsible for the "poverty and helplessness" of Muslims. The Jammu incidents which are described below were most unscrupulously exploited at these meetings for the purpose of rousing religious fanaticism. The authorities knew that all this was going on, but for reasons best known to them, they did not show any concern. They turned a deaf ear even to the timely warnings given by moderate Muslim leaders at a meeting called by the District Magistrate, in connection with the growing unrest, to say nothing of the warnings given by the Hindu Sabhas at Jammu and Srinagar and the Hindu Press of the Panjab.

15. A few words about the Jammu incidents: The facts of one of the cases have been fully set out in the Government communique on the subject. It is, however, obvious that an unholy attempt was made to induce a communal strife at what, at worst, was the act of an individual though the innocence of the Hindu Head-constable is in so many words proved from the report of the Committee of Enquiry composed of Mr. G. E. C. Wakefield, the Police Minister and two Muslim gentlemen enjoying the confidence of their community. The other incident was the subject of a complaint against a Sub-Inspector of Police before a criminal court for the alleged offence of disturbing a religious assembly though the same Sub-Inspector, himself a Hindu, had previously stopped an Arya-Samaj procession which had been organized with the permission of the authorities.

16. The Muslim agitation in Srinagar started as an anti-Government agitation. In its initial stages stress was laid on the "unhappy conditions" of Muslims as well as on their demands or "*Hakuk*". Posters against the State were issued from time to time. In the meanwhile, the different sections of Ahmadiyas, Khanqahis and the Nasrat-ul-Islam party were organised for agitation. The meeting at Khanqah-i-Maula was attended by the two Mir Waizes and joint action was urged. In the same meeting seven representatives were chosen to represent their grievances to His Highness. In the event of his non-compliance with their demands, the brethren in faith were asked to risk their all and be prepared for a revolution. In this very meeting one Abdul Qadeer, a cook of a European Visitor, delivered a highly inflammatory speech asking the people to end Hindu Raj and be prepared to use Lathies, stones, axes and other weapons if need arose. Most of these meetings were, it is stated, attended by Muslim public servants. In fact three of the chief leaders were a Government school teacher, a Government stipendiary and a Government college student. No action was taken against any one of them till they had had ample time to disseminate poison by their utterances. The Government Servants' Conduct Rules were not enforced. Even for the sake of decency

the Government did not at all issue so much as a formal warning against such disloyal activities. For had not some college students of the P. W. College, Jammu (of course Hindus) been rusticated only last year in connection with the innocent demonstrations of the 6th of May 1930, which could not have left any undesirable effect behind; and were not many students of the S. P. College Srinagar (of course Hindus again) heavily fined for their protests against the screening of the so-called Sanitation Film which they considered to be defamatory to their community. It may be stated paranthetically that Hindu officials do not venture to take part even in activities of social reform. There is reason to believe that some responsible Muslim officials not only sympathised with such organisations, but also took part in secret meetings. Some Muslim C.I.D. men who went to report easily learnt to participate. This marked the beginning of the very serious turn the Muslim agitation took subsequently.

17. Though it had begun as an anti-Government movement, it could not for long remain purely so. Offers had been made to certain young men of the Kashmiri Pandits section of the Hindu community to join whole-heartedly in the movement. But they had refused to join. Our Muslim brethren did not chose to understand that it would be impossible for the Hindus to join a revolutionary movement fed on Muslim fanaticism. A few days after, a Kashmiri Pandit girl about 9 years old was kidnapped, raped and then strangled to death. This gruesome murder struck horror in the whole Hindu community. To show their deep symphy with the victim, a group of Hindu young men wanted to take out a funeral procession from the Government Hospital where the dead body had undergone post-mortem examination. On their way through a bazar at Amira Kadal they were asked to retrace their steps and take a longer route. The young men protested for they had not been instructed to make the other route at the start. Thereupon the unarmed mourning procession was mercilessly charged with Lathies by the Police under the order of the Magistrate present, and even those carrying the bier, were not spared: the bier itself was knocked down and the brother of the murdered girl was also beaten. The Police and the Magistracy *did at last* vindicate the majesty of law, which had been so wantonly flouted by the Muslim agitators. The guardians of law and order could be moved to attack and repel only when Hindus had to be suppressed, even though they were peaceful. Soon after followed another incident: a Muslim was caught, while attempting to break the idol in the Shankracharya temple. The Sanatan Dharama Sabha, Fateh Kadal, Srinagar and the Hindu Sahayak Sabha, Srinagar moved resolutions requesting the Government to bring the offenders to book and prayed for the rule of law and order.

18. On this appeal of Kashmir Hindus for the maintenance of law and order, the Muslim leaders openly excited their followers against the Hindus who were threatened in very violent and insulting language. "Let the Pandits remember the days when they were tied in sacks and thrown into the river. Let them know that they live in the jaws of death". Threats of this kind were freely given in open meetings held in mosques in the city and at Hazratbal and attended by thousands of illiterate Muslims. But the Government did not intervene to stop this infringement of the law. The District Magistrate's order prohibiting political speeches at the Juma Masjid was defied, but he allowed organisers of the meetings held there to go scot-free. Hindus did not and do not advocate a rule by ordinances, but they have certainly a cause to lament the inhuman indifference of the authorities who did not set the ordinary law in motion.

19. One the contrary, the Government yielded every day to the agitators. To placate them Order No. 6 "securing in the lower paid services also a due proportion of the various communities" was issued by the Government. It raised false hopes in them, and encouraged by

indifference or connivance of the Police and the magistracy, they began to press forward other "demands". Even the Ministers of the State showed signs of weakness. It is reported that the Political Minister granted long interviews to the leading conspirators. No doubt inspired by his example—he was the highest of the high in the State—other responsible officers gave these hot-headed youngmen an importance which they did not possess. Motorcars were placed at their disposal, and it was the easiest thing in the world for them to tell their ignorant admirers they had overawed His Highness. These men who had no status in their community and were not taken seriously by any body became heroes when this *imprimatur* of official recognition came to them. The pusillanimity of the authorities naturally stiffened the agitators. Soon leaders, subsequently arrested as conspirators (alas too late) arrived from Jammu. They were received very warmly by hundreds of Muslims forming themselves into a procession. It was said by Muslims themselves, and has not been contradicted so far, that His Highness invited the two Mir Waizes to dinner and conferred with them about the situation. If the report is true, His Highness' action is to be construed as one of royal graciousness, in keeping with the best traditions of oriental rule. But the story was exploited by the agitators to serve their own nefarious purpose. To remove "certain misunderstandings" His Highness was pleased to deliver a message to his beloved subjects. The Proclamation secured adequate representation for Muslims in public services consistently with the requirements of efficiency and freedom of speech subject to the law of the land, and promised a scrutiny in all legitimate grievances that might be presented to him. His Highness showed the baselessness of the cry of "Islam in danger" and re-affirmed the policy of religious liberty for all sections of the people. Far from appreciating this gracious message which apparently gave them all that they could reasonably demand, the Muslims were dissatisfied and looked sullen. They arranged a general uprising at the earliest opportunity which offered itself in the shape of the trial of Abdul Qadeer, who was charged under Sections 124-A and 153-A.

20. On the 11th July, 1931, at Mukhdum Sahib's fair at Hariparbat, inflammatory speeches were again delivered which had their full effect. All Muslims were convinced that "something ominous" would take place on the 13th. Next day on the 12th July, a meeting at Gow Kadal was addressed by several of these fomenters of mischief. Besides inciting the people, these "leaders" asked them to muster strong at the Hariparbat Jail on the following day.

21. From a survey of these events it is clear that this mischief has been set afoot by the Muslim communalists of the Punjab, and the agitation deliberately given a religious garb to serve a purpose. These shrewd Muslim leaders knew well enough that an agitation for their political rights as such would fall on deaf ears and, though it might attract some of their Hindu compatriots, it would not assume dangerous proportions and rally the masses. Very clearly, therefore, these good people engineered a religious agitation, and the cry of "Islam in danger" did rally round the Muslim masses. What if a handful of the Hindus were sacrificed at the altar of fanaticism? Would that also not serve a purpose?

22. The one inference that can safely be drawn from even a cursory reading of the events of the last two or three years is that while the Police, the C. I. D. and the magistracy would suppress all Hindu and non-communal movements, they would connive at all Muslim and anti-Hindu agitation, however virulent. If all the forces of law were directed against the Hindus, one may be permitted to ask why were they not directed against the Muslims? Either the Police and the C. I. D. turned suddenly inefficient when the Muslims were concerned, or they became demoralized on account of the connivance of the Minister-in-charge of the Police Department.

23. We need not go into the details of the incidents of the fateful 13th July, 1931. The rising was a pre-arranged rebellion against the Government established by law, and not a riot (in the common acceptance of the term) provoked on the spur of the moment by a clash between Hindus and Muslims. After the mob had been dispersed by the action of the Police, sections of it proceeded in various directions. Our Muslim countrymen had been persistently taught to believe that the Government and the Hindus were synonymous terms and that a blow at the latter was a blow aimed at the former. The infuriated mob looted almost all the Hindu shops between the 4th and 7th bridges, as stated in the Government communique. A little earlier in the day "volunteers" had been seen hurrying about and telling Muslims to observe complete *hartal* and inciting them to plunder and sack. Amid curses on the Hindus in general, war-cries like "Maharaja Burbad" and "Harisingh is dead" were being echoed and re-echoed throughout. It is significant that the loot took place at almost the same time at such distant parts of the city as the Maharajganj, Chhattabal and Vicharnag. This fact shows that the outbreak was pre-arranged and that it was not the firing that gave the provocation.

24. We have been able to collect so far the following figures of Hindus who sustained injuries and loss of life or property in the recent disturbances* :—

1. Persons assaulted	...	276
2. Persons wounded	...	163
3. Persons killed by assaults	...	2
4. Person killed by drowning	...	1
5. Shops looted	...	54
6. Houses looted	...	11

These figures are by no means complete as all Hindu sufferers are not willing to come forward to record their suffering. The actual statements of most of the known sufferers are in our possession.

25. There are many cases of Hindus being forced to recite "*Kalma*" and their sacred threads being torn and their tufts clipped to symbolise their forcible conversion to Islam. It is not unreasonable to presume that there occurred other cases that have not been reported to us. Hindu and Muslim shops are located side by side: the former were closed on account of the panic and the latter on account of the *hartal*. But there is not a single instance of any Muslim shop having suffered even by mistake. This also shows that good care had been taken beforehand to mark out the Hindu shops for loot. On several shops warnings were written in charcoal to show that they belonged to Muslims. 12 families (inhabiting 10 houses) were looted at Vicharnag. On the evening of the 12th July Messrs. Yahiya Shah and G. A. Ashai lectured to the mob at Sovroo and on the 13th July it is alleged that volunteers came down to Vicharnag in a motor car (Was it the same that is said to have been stolen from a European?) and gave orders for the loot which began at 2-30 p. m. The behaviour of the mob was more inhuman at Vicharnag than elsewhere. Whatever could not be removed was burnt or destroyed: "men worth lacs were denuded of everything". "Untold atrocities" and "indescribable outrages on women" were committed there, as stated in the Government communique. The loot here was intensive, apparently owing to the fact that Mr. S. M. Abdulla, known among the masses as "Keng" (a corrupt form of king) lives at Sovra in the vicinity of Vicharnag. The greatest sufferer here is Pandit Kailash Bat who happens to be the creditor of this Mr. Abdulla's brothers to the amount of several thousands. It has been

* *Vide* Appendices I and II.

stated to us that Mr. Abdulla is the grandson of Satar Sheikh who is said to have been the ring-leader of the Shiah Loot, 60 years back. The loss at Vicharnag and the city in money, jewellery and merchandise only, as computed as far on the basis of incomplete information is not less than five lacs, while the loss caused by the burning and destruction of *Bahis* and other documents is incalculable.

26. Great as this loss has been, we suspect that it might have been very much greater, if the entire programme of which this is said to be only a small part had had time to mature. The fact cannot be concealed that in the entire countryside agencies have been at work fomenting disaffection and outbreaks of violence. The forcible conversion of a Hindu Forest-guard in the Pir Panjal Range should not be taken as an isolated incident. The cutting of telephone and telegraph wires by the insurgent mob at the Jail and more than 50 miles away on the Banihal Cart Road, the burning of the Sangam bridge 25 miles away from Srinagar, all point to a general and a widespread rebellion skilfully organized to paralyse and ultimately displace the Government.

27. Another fact is remarkable. Respectable Muslim citizens like Khan Sahib Mirza Ghulam Mustafa and Jagirdars like Messrs. Noor Shah and Salam Shah whose good offices with the rioters could have saved the Hindus, shut themselves up in their own houses and not a single Muslim leader was seen going about to save or console the Hindus. All thanks, therefore, to the Shia community and the few other Muslim ladies and gentlemen, educated or illiterate, who gave shelter to some Hindus and protected them from the attacks of the rebels.

28. It is necessary to emphasize that so far as the Hindus are concerned, it was a wholly unprovoked attempt on them. Considered from this view-point, this attack has been a unique instance of its kind. Not even a show of provocation was ever offered by any Hindu or a section of the Hindus to their Muslim countrymen at any time before, during or after the disturbances. All the casualties suffered by them have been the result of their skirmishes with either the Police or the Military, while all the casualties, injuries and loss of property suffered by the Hindus have been suffered at the hands of the mob. His Highness appointed a Commission of Enquiry on the day following the outbreak, and before the disturbances were actually over. The hurry was uncalled for; lawlessness can only be dissected and not vivisected. It may not be out of place to point out in this connection that the Government showed bankruptcy of states-manship and gave a severe blow to their prestige in nominating the very Muslim rebels as members of the Commission, and these good men had the audacity to refuse to co-operate in the enquiry. Were they afraid of truth being out? Then again His Highness' original order has been mistranslated, and the *Ailan* which has been issued by the Enquiry Commission states that "*Bahami Kashmakash*", which can only mean "Inter-communal struggle" is to be investigated. We submit that this unprovoked, one-sided orgy of loot and assaults can never be called an inter-communal struggle. Facts are what they are, and even our Muslim countrymen cannot say what the Hindus have done to deserve the treatment.

29. A serious charge of culpable indifference to the welfare of law-abiding citizens can reasonably be brought forth against the Police Minister, the District Magistrate and the Police Department in general. Just before the riots, a change in the portfolios was announced and Mr. Wakefield the Minister-in-charge, Police and Foreign and Political Departments was made the Army Minister also, so that in him were centralized all the forces of law and order. The Police purposely refrained from discharging their duties at the scene of loot, and though their aid was requisitioned at Maharajganj while the loot was on, not a single Policeman came to the rescue of the Hindus. The first shop

looted in Maharajganj was that of a Hindu doctor. It is situated in the first storey of the same building in which the Police Chowki is stationed. We have evidence in our possession that frantic telephone appeals were made from Maharajganj to Mr. Wakefield at the commencement of the loot, but they were of no avail. It was not till a personal appeal was made to the Maharaja that he sent his own Body-Guard Cavalry for rescue with Colonel Nawab Khusru Jung at their head, who reached earlier than the Military.

30. Mr. Wakefield went round certain affected parts of the city with Mr. Said-ud-Din Shawl, who had been only a few years ago externed from Kashmir on account of his disloyal activities. Allegations are made that the Minister's remarks were most insulting towards the Hindus, and that he encouraged the Muslims to submit written complaints against the Military pickets stationed at various stations. It is inexplicable that the Police Minister should have come as far as Nowshera and not visited Vicharnag which is only a furlong away, although such havoc had been wrought there. The District Magistrate paid a visit to Vicharnag only 8 days after the loot. Allegations have also been made against the Assistant Superintendent of Police at Maharajganj, who is said to have refused to entertain complaints. On the evening of the 13th and the morning of the 14th, searches were made and some looted property was recovered. But subsequently all searches were suspended and even though persons came forward to identify the places where looted property was stored and concealed, no heed was paid to them by the Police officials. It was alleged that searches were stopped under verbal instructions from the Police Minister.

31. A more serious charge of indifference and inefficiency can also be brought against the authorities. The venue of the trial of Abdul Qadeer was changed from the Session's Court to the Jail premises to avoid the unlawful Muslim demonstrations. Could the authorities not be expected to foresee the rioting? Can it be believed that they did not keep themselves informed of what was happening in the city? When the mob was repelled at the Jail, it became restive, and should not the authorities have known that while on their way back, the infuriated but determined mob would reinforce the mob in the city and complete the work of devastation? No precautions had been taken to cope with the situation which proves the inefficiency and negligence of the authorities. Further, they cannot be credited with so much as a superficial acquaintance with the map of Srinagar. The Military went down only the right bank of the city at first and left unprotected the most affected part—Dalal Kadal, Tashwan, Pathar-Masjid, Nawa Bazar and Jamalata—till very late in the evening. Even a fortnight after the occurrence, many parts of the city remained a closed area for the Hindus.

32. The so-called continued *hartal* is another proof of the subterranean organisation behind the present widespread rebellion. The Mohalla leaders began their secret activities just as soon as it became difficult for them to preach publicly, after the Military had been posted at important centres. False news were spread that a hundred good Muslims had been killed by the Hindus, and that, Muslim shops had been looted. "*Damb*" (a show of helplessness) is notorious and our Muslim countrymen practised it most scientifically. Women were sent to appeal to Mr. Wakefield against the Hindus and attempts were made to represent that the victims had been the assailants. The actual victims of Muslim orgies ate out their hearts in secret. Hindus may be poor, they may be helpless but the little culture they have, would let them rather die than organize their ladies to beat their breasts and gnash their teeth on the roadside to attract attention. We challenge any Muslim to prove that a single Muslim house or shop was looted, yet all sorts of rumours were set afloat. It was said that the "*Lath*" (the Viceroy) would personally come to intervene on their behalf, if they closed their shops for

thirteen days. The attitude of the Police Minister lent colour to these rumours in the eyes of the Muslim masses. Even the European community at present in Srinagar swallowed false news with their luncheon and tea served by their Muslim Khansamans. The Resident had to issue a short notice to deny these false rumours.

33. The Government on the very third day of the outbreaks arranged food supply to the city and thus saved the people from intolerable hard-ship. All bakers, vegetable-sellers, grocers and many others had their shops part-opened. All other shops should have been opened, had the "volunteers", working secretly not promised impossible concessions to the people, if they would continue the *hartal*. The sale of all the articles of everyday necessity therefore had also to begin only behind the part-opened shops. Though the Mir Waiz of the Nasrat-ul-Islam party went round asking the shop-keepers to open their shops yet they would not mind his advice, because just after him the "volunteers" would go about telling them "the true facts" secretly. Whether it was done with the consent or the connivance of the Mir Waiz is more than we can tell.

34. Children's processions shouting anti-Government slogans paraded the streets. Led by Government Muslim teacheresses, women's processions were organised to go round different wards of the city, singing songs against this "*Zulum*" of the Hindus and crying "asi gachhi asun Shah Sultan" (we want a king who is a Sultan—a Muslim King) and 'Begonah mara gai asi Musalman, adi ladikh kilas tai adi jailkhan' "asi gachhi asun panun Sultan" *i. e.* "We Mohammedans have been killed for nothing some have been imprisoned in the fort and others in the jail, we must have our own Sultan". No measures were taken to dissuade or disperse them. Though Section 144 had been promulgated, the Muslims assembled in thousands to hear "*W'az*" and carry on their propaganda in the mosques.

35. Now follows the most disgraceful episode in the annals of the Government. The Government began parleying with the very men who are directly or indirectly, openly or covertly, responsible for the incendiarism and arson. The Hindus would not take exception to any conference with Muslims of established reputation, but the Government entered into parleys with the very conspirators. The rebels threatened a continuation of the *hartal* until their imprisoned leaders including those who had actually joined the loot were released, and until their demands were conceded in toto without reference to the minorities. Full advantage was taken of the reports of these talks, and the masses naturally believed that the Government was surrendering.

36. The position of the Hindus is briefly told. A reference to the Sanatan Dharam Sabha resolutions passed 15 days' previous to the rebellion, will convince any fair-minded man that the Hindus are friendly to the Muslims, loyal towards their Ruler and modest in the matter of their demands. The resolutions (what a contrast with the resolutions and the speeches of Muslim Association) run as follows:—

"Resolved that the Government of Kashmir intends to receive a deputation of the representatives of our Muslim brethren to submit their communal view point with regard to their alleged rights, claims and grievances ; the Sri Sanatan Dharam Sabha, the only representative body of Kashmiri Hindus draws the attention of the Government that no opinion be expressed with regard to the Muslim claims so long as the Hindus of Kashmir do not submit their case for the consideration of the Government, which they would be doing at an early date".

"Resolved that the Sri Sanatan Dharm Sabha in all humility maintains that the historical importance of the Kashmir Hindus and their past services coupled with their unique educational advancement in the State entitle them to a special protection as the most cultured minority in the State, although the Kashmiri Pandits will be prepared to forgo

all their privileges of a minority if the body politic of the State is kept free from the chanker of communalism".

"Resolved that the Sri Sanatan Dharm Sabha while admitting the right of every citizen to make proper representation for the removal of his just grievance, looks with grave concern upon the wanton and open defiance of law in the shape of unlawful meetings and unauthorised processions that have become a regular feature of our normal life for some time past and maintains that such activities on the part of the organisers of such meetings and processions are a great menace to the public peace and prays that effective steps be taken at an early date for the suppression of all such undesirable activities. In this connection, the attention of the Government is drawn to the violent nature of the speech delivered at the Juma Masjid on 26th June 1931 and pointedly directed towards Kashmiri Pandits". *The attention of the Government, however, was drawn in vain.*

37. The helpless Hindu is much maligned by the uninformed and the malicious criticism appearing in the Press. Even such a paper as the Statesman of Calcutta lends support to the view that the Hindu official acts as a screen between the ruler and the ruled. The facts are quite the contrary. The State has out-heroded Herod in its pro-Muslim policy : it has given the Muslims greater facilities than are allowed to them in British India. Their Hindu countrymen have never been hostile to their aspirations. Indeed the Hindu witnesses at the State Subjects' Definition Committee advocated the cause of the Muslims, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Ashai one of the Muslim witnesses most absurdly pleaded that until such time as Mukhi Muslims got educated, Punjab Muslims should be imported in preference to the Mulki Hindus. Though almost all the measures of His Highness' reign were chiefly aimed at Muslims' betterment and some of them caused the economic ruin of important sections of the Hindus, they acquiesced out of their loyalty to their ruler. Would any Muslim ever think of reciting Hindu prayers? Yet Hindu teachers of the Compulsory Primary Schools may every day be seen joining in the Muslim boys' prayer in praise of their Prophet. Is that the intolerance Kashmir Hindus have shown? Never once have the Hindus directly or indirectly wounded their countrymen's religious susceptibilities. The only offence that the Hindus can have given in their demand, inevitable in the existing circumstances, that law should not be flouted and political parleying and bargaining with extremist Muslims should not be resorted to behind the back of law-abiding and loyal Hindu and Muslim citizens.

38. The Hindus, to put it mildly, are in an unenviable position. Naturally they do not want to embarrass His Highness who is already worried over the Muslim intransigence. But let it be unequivocally said that the Hindu rule is fast proving a mill round their neck. His Highness feels that he cannot be accused of being anti-Hindu, and he can evidently bear any reproach but that of being a Hindu. To quote his own noble words, his religion is justice, but in all humility we venture to submit that justice is not being administered to Hindus. They have had to pay a heavy price for their inevitable loyalty; their only fault otherwise being that they are non-Muslims. His Highness is "not a believer in false ideas of prestige". Is that why a long rope was given by the authorities to the agitators, which naturally culminated in the rebellious out-break.

39. The Kashmir problem has no parallel elsewhere in India. As leading British statesmen have declared, the sole justification for British rule in India is the protection of minorities. But in Kashmir under a Hindu Maharaja, the Hindu minority is left to its fate. Certainly the Hindus too deserve to live under a Hindu-ruler. In the year of grace 1931, even a Muslim ruler cannot afford to be lost to all sense of responsibility towards his Hindu subjects. As early as the 17th century, the Mughul Emperor Jahangir had a whole host of "Mullas" killed in Mulla-Khah,

Srinagar, after a contemplated case of a forcible marriage of a Pandit girl to the Muslim Governor with the consent of those Mullas had been reported to him. Our Muslim countrymen should remember these plain facts. They should know that under no dispensation, British or Muslim, can the Hindus be harassed and victimised. The Government of India does intervene in Indian States but not at the bidding of religious majorities, who fancy that they can or should exterminate the minorities.

40. The idea is abroad that the Muslims are the exploited and the Hindus the exploiters. It is a vicious lie. Almost all the factories are owned by the Muslims and anything but humane conditions of labour prevail there. But for a few Hindus all the big Zamindars, Maufi-dars and Jagirdars are Muslims. The present cry is not a cry for socialism, by which Hindus have little to lose. A large portion of the internal trade, the export and the import trade, handi-craft and skilled labour, and most of the contracts are in the hands of the Muslims. Hindus no doubt do form the literary or the intellectual class here, but to adopt the words of Lt. Col. Suhrawardy, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, "Hindus have not acquired that literary merit by looting their Muslim countrymen". There are historical reasons for the Hindus' intellectual and literary superiority here as elsewhere in India. The general economic level throughout the whole of India is low, but so far as the rural conditions go, Kashmir can very favourably compare with any other Indian State or Province. If, to find spare-time labour in winter months, the Kashmir cooly moves down to the plains, the Indian labourer sails across the seas as an indentured labour. Owing to the vigilance of the Government, the present world economic crises had not adversely affected the rural prosperity here. The prices of agricultural produce have not fallen as they have fallen almost everywhere else involving the peasants in untold sufferings. The problem of unemployment affects the educated Hindu youngmen and not the Muslim youngmen. *As against scores of unemployed Hindu graduates not a dozen Muslims, possessing any University qualification are unemployed**. It is Hindus that need economic protection. Of course it is quite a different thing that Messers. Ashai and Abdulla should have their personal grievances against the authorities, or should like to see the Punjab Muslims being imported over the heads of better qualified Mulki Hindus.

41. As regards the measures to be adopted to prevent a recrudescence of such outbreaks, we submit that all concessions to clamour should be withheld, the offenders should be punished, the majesty of law should be vindicated, and "*Goondas*" should not be allowed to thrive. It is all very easy for the so-called leaders to apologise in order to save their skins and to say that they never intended the loot and the arson, which was the work of the "*Goonda*" element present in every community. *Who provoked, encouraged or even led the "Goondas" and the "Badmashes"?* It need Himalayan courage to confess one's guilt. All those persons who are responsible for committing or instigating the various acts of outrage, should be immediately dealt with according to law. The District Magistrate should be relieved of his charge, and the Police officers and the Police Minister against whom a *prima-facie* case exists, should be adequately dealt with. Effective measures should be taken for rescuing the looted property without delay. The law-breakers have already been given ample time to dispose of their booty. The Hindus are being threatened and told that the Military pickets would not be continued for ever. We urge that the Military be maintained at all important centres at the cost of the community whose aggression has made the stationing of the pickets necessary. The people who have suffered for no fault of theirs should be adequately compensated for their loss. Punitive tax should be levied on those whose complicity with the rebellion is proved. No political meetings or demonstrations should be allowed under religious garb. Imams should be held personally responsible for seeing that only religion, pure and unadulterated is preached in mosques.

**Vide* Appendices I and II.

This will prove a protection not only to the law-abiding Hindus but also to those Muslims who are being coerced into disloyalty.

42. The plight of the Hindus in the countryside is perilous and full of anxiety. Licenses for fire-arms should be granted to all Hindus whose houses are so situated that they can apprehend danger to their life and property. We earnestly appeal that adequate provision be made for the protection of Hindus, both of the city and the Mufassils, during the winter season, when Kashmir is cut off from the rest of India. In the absence of adequate protection from the Police and the Military, short work can be made of the Hindus after the move of the offices to Jammu. At present, the Hindus are un-nerved and unfortunately they find it hard to believe that the Government has even yet decided to assert itself against Muslims in transigence. Kashmiri Pandits hesitate to come forward even to give evidence for the same reason.

In conclusion it may be stated that besides demanding compensation for the sufferers, the restoration of normal conditions, and hauling up of delinquents for justice and effective protection of life and property in future, the Hindus ask only for one thing, and that is, *a fair field and no favour* which means, not only a just and impartial but also an *efficient and resolute* Government.

APPENDIX I.

List of persons, beaten, wounded or dead in recent disturbances prepared up to the 24th July 1931.

Serial No.	Name and address.	Kind of injury.	REMARKS.
Zaindar Mohalla.			
1	Pt. Sham Lal Jawansher son of Pt. Zindh Ram Jawansher.	Beaten ..	Age 32 years, beaten at Tankipora by mob at 4-30 p. m. on Monday.
2	Pt. Aftab Joo Jan ..	„ ..	Postal Clerk at Tankipora. Lost his turban.
3	Pt. Perma Nand Saraf son of Pt. Ragho Joo Saraf.	„ ..	By a mob at Ali Kadal, lost his bicycle, and property worth Rs. 280.
4	Pt. Thakur Joo Attar ..	„ ..	At Daddi Kadal, lost property worth Rs. 25, shop attacked.
5	Pt. Radha Kishen Kachroo son of Pt. Shridhar Joo.	„ ..	By a mob. His bicycle broken to pieces.
6	Pt. Aftab Ram Kaw ..	Wounded ..	Beaten severely while coming from Vicharnag to Srinagar. Secret thread cut to pieces, made to recite Kalma and pocket money taken away. Clothes and turban torn.
7	Pt. Aftab Ram Karnal ..	Beaten and wounded	Age 43, pelted with stones at Tankipora and wounded in the left thigh.
8	Pt. Nand Lal Bhut son of Pt. Thakur Joo.	Wounded in the ear.	
9	Pt. Jagan Nath Razdan son of Pt. Mahanand Razdan.	„ „ ..	By an excited mob. Bi-cycle taken away.
10	Pt. Vishan Joo Kokroo son of Pt. Narayan Joo Kokroo.	Drowned at Ali Kadal	Dead. 40 years old. Has no male member to support two widows in the family. Immediate relief necessary.
11	Pt. Mahdev Bayu ..	Beaten and wounded	Lost property worth Rs. 41.
12	Pt. Radha Krishen Misri son of Pt. Amar Chand.	„ „ ..	By a mob at Gow Kadal. Turban and shoe lost.
Kanya Kadal.			
13	Pt. Govind Joo Gagroo ..	Beaten and wounded	Near Zenana Hospital, Rainawari. Watch and bi-cycle broken.
14	Pt. Lachman Joo Bazaz ..	Beaten at Navid Kadal.	Lost property worth Rs. 12.
Purshyar.			
15	Pt. Dina Nath Zadoo son of P. Amar Chand Zadoo.	Wounded ..	In the leg.

Serial No.	Name and address.	Kind of injury.	REMARKS.
16	Pt. Nanak Chand son of Parkash Koul.	Wounded ..	In the foot, beaten at Shal Teng.
17	Pt. Janki Nath Raina son of Pt. Gopi Nath Raina.	„ ..	In thigh and knees near Gow Kadal on Monday.
18	Pt. Dina Nath Seru son of Pt. Ram Chand.	„ ..	In the leg. Robbed of property worth Rs. 5.
19	Pt. Dina Nath Jala son of Pt. Kalash Ram.	„ ..	Stoned at Kanya Kadal.
20	Pt. Prem Nath Langru son of Pt. Shanker Joo.	„ ..	In the arm. Got his cycle broken near C. M. High School.
21	Pt. Badri Nath Bhut son of Pt. Balbadar Bhut.	„ and beaten ..	At Nallabal near Vicharnag. Robbed of property worth Rs. 5.
22	Pt. Ram Joo Bala son of Vasa Kak Bala.	Beaten ..	Near Tashawan. Property worth Rs. 1-8-0 taken at Kanya Kadal.
Drabiyar.			
23	P. Sham Lal Kotwal ..	Severe wound in the head, beaten near Tashawan.	At present in Hospital.
24	Pt. Arjan Nath Warikoo ..	„ „	
25	Pt. Madho Ram Nanwai (Dalyasanyar).	Injured all over the body.	While going to Hari Parbat.
26	Pt. Niranian Nath Aima son of P. Gobind Koul.	Wounded in the eyes	At Nawa-bazar.
27	Pt. Jag Bayu son of Krishen Bayu (Karpali Mohalla).	Wounded and severely beaten.	By three Muslims and one Muslim lady.
28	Pt. Birbal Koul son of P. Gash Koul (Malikyar).	....	Age 50. Window panes of his house broken and many family members stoned.
29	Pt. Bishember Nath Wali ..	Wounded in the elbow.	Near lower Badlyar on Monday.
30	Pt. Kantha Ram son of P. Jai Ram.	Wounded in the head.	Watch and clothes taken away.
31	Pt. Shivji Ach son of P. Hari Ram.	Wounded in the nose	Attacked near Gow Kadal.
32	Pt. Amar Nath Khar	Beaten ..	At Gow Kadal.
33	Pt. Ragho Nath Khar ..	„ ..	„ „
34	Pt. Vid Lal Ganjoo son of Pt. Vishna Joo.	„ ..	By Muslim shop-keepers at Tashawan.
35	Pt. Kanth Ram, Chandapora village.	„ ..	At Gow Kadal.
Ganeshghat.			
36	Pt. Gwash Lal Koul, B. A.,	Wounded in the abdomen, thigh and eyes.	Aged 29. Clothes torn. Watch, cigarette case, fountain pen, private diary, purse, shoe and stick taken away.

Serial No.	Name and address.	Kind of injury.	REMARKS.
37	Pt. Brij Nath son of Pt. Mahanand Bayu. Sathoo.	Wounded ..	In the left arm near Nawa-bazar.
38	Pt. Arjan Nath, B. A., son of Pt. Vas Koul .. Shaliyar.	Wounded and beaten.	
39	Pt. Bishember Nath Razdan, Forest Ranger, son of Pandit Nil Kanth. Shishyar.	Wounded badly ..	In eyes, thigh, hands and back, at Gow Kadal.
40	Pt. Bitamber Waza ..	Wounded ..	At Chinkral Mohalla.
41	Pt. Maheshwar Nath Dhar ..	Beaten.	
42	Pt. Kanth Joo Dhar .. Malapora.	„	
43	Pt. Govind Ram, servant of Zutshi.	Beaten.	
44	Pt. Shanker Joo Gazi .. Banimohalla.	Wounded and beaten in right eye.	At Nawa-bazar.
45	Pt. Sarwand Nath Kalposh son of Pt. Sona Joo.	Wounded in the head by a stone.	
46	Pt. Ram Joo Dhar son of Pt. Narayan Dhar.	Beaten ..	At Radapora. Umbrella and turban taken away.
47	Pt. Sham Bayu son of Pandit Mahadev Bayu.	„ ..	Near Marbal.
48	Pt. Nand Lal son of Pandit Sahaj Ram. Narperisthan.	„ ..	Camera taken near Bhuri Kadal.
49	Pt. Sat Lal Kak son of Pandit Shiv Ji Kak.	Beaten and wounded.	
50	Pt. Vasa Kak son of Pandit Shamji. Fateh Kadal.	Wounded in nose.	At Fateh Kadal.
51	Pt. Balkishen son of Pandit Halder Joo.	Beaten ..	At Fateh Kadal.
52	Pt. Mahdev Koul son of Pt. Shanker Koul.	„	
53	Pt. Nil Kanth Madan ..	„	
54	Pt. Jia Lal Kilam, B. A., LL. B., Municipal Commissioner.	„ ..	Stoned near Narperisthan.

Serial No.	Name and address.	Kind of injury.	REMARKS.
	Gankhan.		
55	Pt. Sham Lal ..	Beaten.	
56	Pt. Nil Kanth ..	"	
57	Pt. Sri Kanth Attar ..	" ..	At Kailaspora.
58	Pt. Prakash Ram of Bhagats..	" ..	At Maharajganj.
59	Pt. Laba Ram son of Pt. Raja Ram.	" ..	In a shop near Maharajganj.
60	Pt. Ram Chand Mawa son of Pandit Dev Ram.	"	
61	Pt. Kanth Ram Mawa son of Pandit Govind Ram Mawa.	"	
62	Pt. Vidh Ram Halwai ..	" ..	At Navid Kadal.
63	Pt. Dina Nath Attar ..	" ..	In his own shop.
64	Pt. Tota Ram son of Pandit Rish Ram.	"	
65	Pt. Anand Ram son of Pandit Ram Chand.	" ..	At Navid Kadal.
66	Pt. Resha Ram son of Pandit Nanak Chand.	" ..	At Kanayar.
67	Pt. Rameshwar son of Pandit Sri Ram.	" ..	"
68	Pt. Sansar Chand son of Pandit Zanardan.	" ..	"
69	Pt. Sham Lal son of Pandit Sudershan.	" ..	"
70	Pt. Gopi Nath son of Pandit Rishi Ram.	" ..	Near Pt. J. L. Kilam's house.
	Boel Kadal.		
71	Pt. Sudershan son of Pandit Narayan Dass.	" ..	At his own shop.
	Kaziyar Mohalla.		
72	Pt. Sham Lal son of Pt. Ram Chand.	" ..	At Gankhan. Watch, clothes and Rs. 3 cash robbed.
73	Pt. Nand Lal son of Pt. Nanak Chand.	" ..	At Zana Kadal. Clothes taken.
74	Pt. Dina Nath son of Pt. Nanak Chand.	" ..	" " "
75	Pt. Prem Nath son of Pt. Govind Ram.	..... ..	Clothes taken.
	Saraf Kadal.		
76	Pt. Govind Ram son of Pt. Shanker Lal.	" ..	At Saraf Kadal.

Serial No.	Name and address.	Kind of injury.	REMARKS.
77	Pt. Anand Ram son of Pt. Kesho Ram.	Beaten ..	At Rajwari Kadal.
78	Pt. Jia Lal Sopori, Assistant Engineer Palaces.	Beaten and stoned.	At Maharajganj.
79	Pt. Kashi Nath son of Pt. Amarchand.	Beaten ..	At his own shop.
80	Pt. Radha Kishen Bayu son of Pt. Mansa Ram.	Wounded ..	At Hariparbat.
81	L. Durga Dass Mehra ..	" ..	At Maharajganj.
82	L. Chotta Mal agent of Lala Moti Ram.	" ..	"
83	L. Durga Dass' agent Lala Dwarka Dass.	" ..	"
84	L. Balmokand ..	" ..	"
85	L. Fateh Chand ..	" ..	"
86	Ch. Ram Lal ..	" ..	"
87	L. Shib Dass Mehra ..	" ..	"
88	L. Faqir Chand ..	" ..	"
89	L. Isher Dass ..	" ..	"
90	L. Amir Chand Bhagat ..	" ..	"
91	L. Karam Chand Bhagat ..	" ..	"
92	L. Kishen Chand Bhagat ..	" ..	"
93	L. Madan Chand ..	" ..	"
94	L. Hakim Chand ..	" ..	"
95	L. Duni Chand ..	" ..	"
96	L. Tara Chand ..	" ..	"
97	L. Mansa Ram ..	" ..	"
98	L. Narayan Dass Panda ..	" ..	"
99	L. Lal Chand ..	" ..	"
100	L. Sohan Lal son of L. Balmukand.	" ..	"
101	L. Hakim Chand son of L. Hans Raj.	" ..	"
102	L. Sant Ram Chopra ..	" ..	"
103	Pt. Kashi Nath Garyali ..	" ..	"
104	L. Chiman Lal ..	" ..	"
105	Pt. Sona Joo shop-keeper ..	" ..	"

Serial No.	Name and address.	Kind of injury.	REMARKS.
106	Pt. Shridhar Joo ..	Wounded ..	At Maharajganj.
107	Pt. Dina Nath care of Dr. Dev Koul.	„ ..	„
108	Pt. Shambu Nath ..	„ ..	„
	Batiyar.		
109	Pt. Sri Kanth of Pt. Vish Nath and sons.	Beaten.	
110	Dr. Jia Lal, S A. S. ..	Wounded ..	Left arm broken, turban taken away.
111	Pt. Pitamber Pir ..	„	
112	Pt. Sarwanand Koul son of Pt. Balbaldar Koul.	„	
113	Pt. Tirloki Nath Koul son of Sham Lal Koul.	„ ..	In the leg.
114	Pandit Krishna Joo Munshi ..	Wounded and dead.	Assaulted near Khawaja Noor Din Pandit's house.
115	Pt. Saligram Tokra ..	Beaten ..	Cycle taken away.
	Bodagar.		
116	Pt. Anand Ram Khusu ..	Wounded in the head	
117	Pt. Shib Koul Jalekhani ..	Beaten.	
118	Pt. Tika Lal „ ..	„ ..	Turban taken away.
119	Pt. Ganesh Dass „ ..	„ ..	„ „
120	Pt. Vidh Lal „ ..	„ ..	„ „
121	Pt. Prem Nath „ ..	„	
122	Pt. Sham Lal Dhar ..	„	
123	Pt. Ragho Nath Koul ..	„ ..	Severely at Nawa Kadal.
124	Pt. Sarwa Nand Bhut ..	„ ..	Clothes torn, attacked by thirty young Muslims.
125	Pt. Sat Lal Dhar ..	„ ..	At Hari Parbat.
126	Pt. Anand Bhut son of Pt. Mahteb Bhut.	Wounded. ..	On the head near the Islamia High School.
127	Lakshman Rawal son of Pt. Gopla Rawal.	„	In the head at Vicharnag.
	Sihayar, Shalayar and Gurgadi Mohallas.		
128	Pt. Ragho Nath Bayu ..	„ ..	In the right arm.
129	Pt. Ganesh Dass son of Pt. Ram Koul.	„ ..	In both legs.
130	Pt. Mahdev Ram shop-keeper.	„ ..	

Serial No.	Name and address.	Kind of injury.	REMARKS.
131	Pt. Kirpa Ram ..	Wounded ..	In the forehead and back.
132	Pt. Sarwa Nand son of Pt. Sawa Bayu.	" ..	In the shoulder.
133	Pt. Jia Lal son of Pt. Anand Joo.	" ..	
134	Pt. Govind Ram ..	" ..	Severely.
135	Pt. Balak Ram, Petition-writer	" ..	Death attack near Ashai Koocha.
136	Pt. Aftab Koul ..	Beaten.	
137	Pt. Gopi Nath Koul ..	" ..	
138	Pt. Tara Chand son of Pt. Sona Koul.	" ..	
139	Pt. Dina Nath Koul ..	" ..	
140	Pt. Tirloki Nath ..	" ..	
141	Pt. Jagan Koul son of Pt. Smar Chand.	" ..	
142	Pt. Durga Nath Koul son of Pt. Prakash Koul.	" ..	
143	Pt. Jia Lal Raina son of Pt. Darshan Pandit Raina.	" ..	
144	Pt. Sarwa Nand son of Pt. Lachman Koul.	" ..	
145	Pt. Sri Kanth son of Pt. Amar Chand.	" ..	
146	Pt. Nil Kanth Jamadar ..	" ..	
147	Kashi Nath Koul, B. A. ..	" ..	
Putlipura Bala.			
148	Govind Ram Raina son of Nanak Chand, Peon, D. J. Z. Hospitl.	Wounded ..	Rs. 351 and turban taken away.
149	Pt. Kailas Ram ..	" ..	Arm broken.
150	Pt. Sham Lal Bazaz son of Pt. Madho Bazaz.	Beaten ..	At Nalbandpora.
151	Daya Ram, Attar ..	" ..	Shop looted.
Safa Kadal and its vicinity.			
152	Pt. Sham Sunder Lal Dhar ..	.....	Stoned.
153 } 154 }	Two Punjabi Ladies ..	Beaten ..	At Nalbandpora.
155	Pt. Anand Ram ..	" ..	Near Dhal-mohalla.
156	Pt. Samsar Chand ..	" ..	" ..

Serial No.	Name and address.	Kind of injury.	REMARKS.
157	Pt. Shambu Nath Koul ..	Beaten ..	Robbed of Rs. 20 at Rajwari Kadal.
158	Pt. Raghu Nath Zatu ..	" ..	Cycle taken away at Nawa-bazar.
159	Pt. Tara Chand Bove ..	" ..	At Ali Kadal.
160	Pt. Tara Chand Bagati ..	Wounded	At Bulballanker.
161	Pt. Prem Nath Munshi ..	" ..	At Vicharnag. Coat and watch taken away.
162	Pt. Jagan Nath Boni ..	" ..	At Nawa-bazar, cycle plundered.
163	Pt. Shiv Ji Koul Bamzi ..	" ..	At Fateh Kadal, turban taken away.
164	Pt. Madsudhan Bove ..	" ..	At Safa Kadal, cycle and turban taken away.
165	Pt. Kanth Ram ..	" ..	At Nawa-bazar.
166	Pt. Prashad Ram Nagri ..	Beaten ..	" Rs. 56 stolen.
167	Pt. Zanardan Razdan ..	" ..	At Nawa-bazar.
168	Pt. Anand Bhut ..	Wounded ..	At Rajwari Kadal, Kaperchadri stolen.
169	Pt. Balak Ram ..	" ..	At Nawa-bazar.
170	Pt. Bishember Nath ..	" ..	At Nilwandori. Turban taken away.
171	Pt. Arjan Nath Bakhshi ..	" ..	At Shah-i-Amdan. His books stolen.
172	Pt. Jia Lal Kak ..	" ..	At Nawa-bazar.
173	Pt. Prithvi Nath Phalwan ..	" ..	At Shah-i-Amdan. Books stolen.
174	Raghu Nath Chhotu ..	" ..	At Khankah-i-Maula. Turban stolen.
175	" Dhar ..	" ..	At Nawa-bazar.
176	Pt. Lachman Koul ..	" ..	At Vicharnag. Turban stolen.
177	Pt. Radha Kishen Kadass ..	" ..	At Tashawan.
178	Pt. Prithvi Nath Bakhshi ..	" ..	At Khankah-i-Maula. Watch and cap stolen.
179	Pt. Pitamber Boni ..	" ..	At Maharajganj. Turban lost.
180	Pt. Dwarka Nath Phalwan ..	" ..	At Nawa-bazar. Watch and turban stolen.
181	Pt. Kashi Nath Zutu ..	" ..	" " "
182	Pt. Haldar Koul ..	" ..	At Maharajganj.
183	Pt. Prashad Razdan ..	" ..	At Ali Kadal.
184	Mani Ram ..	" ..	At Bhuri Kadal, coat and Rs. 5 stolen.
185	Anand Ram Koshu ..	" ..	At Tashawan, Rs. 15 stolen.
186	Ragho Ram ..	" ..	At Tashawan, Rs. 50 stolen.

Serial No.	Name and address.	Kind of injury.	REMARKS.
187	P. Nand Lal ..	Wounded ..	At Nawa-bazar, cycle stolen.
188	Pt. Prem Nath ..	" ..	At Ganiatmanz, book stolen.
189	Desha Nath Chattu ..	" ..	At Nawa-bazar, turban taken away.
190	Kashi Nath ..	" ..	At Khankah-i-Maula.
191	Nath Joo Chattu ..	" ..	" "
192	Pt. Bhagwan Das ..	" ..	" "
Rainawari.			
193	Tota Koul Jalali ..	" ..	At Dalal Kadal.
194	Sardar Sanmukh Singh ..	" ..	
195	Natha Bhut ..	" ..	
196	Vishna Koul ..	" ..	
197	Kanth Ram Zenda ..	" ..	
198	Lala Saraf ..	" ..	
199	Natha Joo Dhar ..	" ..	
200	Sunder Das ..	" ..	
201	Nand Lal ..	" ..	
202	Kanta Joo Nakashi ..	" ..	
203	Sat Lal ..	" ..	
204	Shiv Ji Koul ..	" ..	
205	Natha Ram Sulman ..	" ..	
206	Vidh Lal Kisu ..	" ..	
207	Shambu Nath Bayu ..	" ..	
208	Shridhar Koul ..	" ..	
209	Balji Saraf ..	" ..	
210	Radha Kishen ..	" ..	
211	Halidar Mugu ..	" ..	
212	Resha Ram Attar ..	" ..	
213	Tota Ram ..	" ..	
214	Anand Ram ..	" ..	
215	Nand Lal Tongno ..	" ..	
216	Sri Kanth Jalali ..	" ..	
217	Sarwanand Bagh ..	" ..	
218	Mahdev Ram ..	" ..	

Serial No.	Name and address.	Kind of injury.	REMARKS.
219	Shridar Hundu ..	Wounded.	
220	Kantha Joo Fotadar ..	"	
221	Gobind Bhut ..	"	
222	Vidh Lal Bayu ..	"	
223	Shridhar Tikoo (Fire Brigade) ..	"	Severely. Precarious condition lying in State hospital.
224	Bishember Nath Soma ..	"	
225	Balak Ram ..	"	
226	Prakash Ram ..	"	
227	Sardar Narayan Singh ..	"	
228	Krishen Das Attar ..	"	
229	Dina Nath Kisu ..	"	
230	Pt. Nand Lal Koul ..	Beaten.	
231	Hari Koul ..	"	
232	Kantha Bayu ..	"	
233	Damodhar Fotadar ..	"	
234	Sarwanand Koul ..	"	
235	Radha Krishen ..	"	
236	Madri Joo ..	"	
237	Lal Chand ..	"	
238	Damodhar Raina ..	"	
239	Sham Lal Pandit ..	"	
240	Dina Nath Pandit ..	"	
241	Jia Lal ..	"	
242	Ram Chand ..	"	
243	Shiv Ji Matu ..	"	
244	Sham Lal Muju ..	"	
245	Mahanand Dhar ..	"	
246	Makund Hakim ..	"	
247	Ram Chand Kichlu ..	"	
248	Sansar Chand Kak ..	"	
	Vicharnag.		
249	Pt. Madsudhan Khar ..	"	
250	Pt. Lambodhar Khar ..	"	
251	Pt. Permanand Attar ..	"	

Serial No.	Name and address.	Kind of injury.	REMARKS.
252	Pt. Shiv Ji Khar ..	Wounded.	
253	Shrimati Omrawati Devi ..	„ ..	On the shoulder, breast and left arm, aged 60 years.
254	Pt. Narayan Joo Khar ..	„	
255	Pt. Sarwanand Khar ..	„	
256	Pt. Soua Joo Attar ..	„ ..	Was twice thrown down from the second storey of his house.
257	Pt. Nil Kanth Pir ..	„	
258	Pt. Damodhar Pir ..	„	
259	Pt. Kailas Bhut ..	„	
260	Pt. Dev Ram ..	„	
261	Pt. Gopi Nath Khar ..	„ ..	Severely, fainted many times.
	Goond Alamar.		
262	Pt. Nil Kanth Raina ..	Wounded ..	Turban taken away at Nawa-bazar.
	Bulballanker.		
263	Madsudhan Bhut son of Gobind Bhut.	„ ..	At Tashawan in the whole body.
264	Vishna Koul ..	„ ..	At Chhatabal.
265	Sona Koul ..	„ ..	Severely at Guzarbal.
266	Ganesh Dass son of Nil Joo Tiku	„ ..	In Maharajganj in legs and hand.
267	Bala Kak son of Lasa Kak ..	Beaten ..	Severely, Rs. 5 and Kaperchadri taken away.
268	Prithvi Nath son of Anand Bhut.	Wounded.	
	Khanki Sokta.		
269	Jia Lal son of Sham Lal ..	Beaten.	
270	Pt. Shiv Matu son of Ram Chand	„	
271	Amar Nath Dhar son of Raghu Nath.	Injured ..	In the teeth.
272	Hari Ram Dhar son of Balkak.	Wounded.	
273	Bhagwan Das son of Amar Chand.	„	
274	Lachman Dhar son of Hari Ram Dhar.	„ ..	Blood came out through the mouth and nose.
275	Jagan Nath Dhar son of Hari Ram Dhar.	„	
	Khanqah-i-Maula.		
276	Badri Nath son of Kanth Joo	Beaten.	

APPENDIX II.

List of the Shops and Houses looted along with amount of loss.

Serial No.	Name.	Amount.
		Rs. a. p.
	A.—Maharajganj.	
1	Sona Koul, Ram Chand, Janki Nath	9,351 0 0
2	Chuni Lal Chaman Lal	25,000 0 0
3	Shiv Das Mehra	8,000 0 0
4	Nanak Chand Jagan Nath	10,000 0 0
5	Dr. Deva Koul	3,500 0 0
6	Sona Koul Shridhar Koul	4,871 12 0
7	Ishwar Joo Nand Lal	.....
8	Kanth Ram Shridhar Pandit	4,500 0 0
9	Natha Ram Kanth Ram	} .. 19,000 0 0
10	Kanth Ram Kailash Ram	
11	Tulsi Dass Kesho Ram	40,000 0 0
12	Kashi Nath son of Shankar Dass	1,328 0 0
	B.—Ali Kadal.	
13	Shiv Koul Prakash Koul	.....
14	Vishna Joo Shridhar Joo Pattu	2,820 0 0
15	Vidh Lal Bhagwan Das	3,200 0 0
16	Prakash Ram Attar	1,436 9 6
17	Sri Kanth Attar	3,028 8 0
18	L. Dewan Chand	20,955 0 0
19	Radha Krishen Pattu	2,000 0 0
20	Shridhar Joo Razdan	.....
21	Shiv Ram Kallas	6,000 0 0
22	Damodhar Parimoo	1,799 10 0
23	Mukand Ram Yadlu	7,475 0 0
24	Tika Lal Bamzai	1,050 0 0
25	Nand Lal Thotha	1,500 0 0
26	Tara Chand Govind Ram (Maniari Farosh)	1,500 0 0
	C. —Bhuri Kadal.	
27	Sansar Chand Attar	1,400 0 0

Serial No.	Name.	Amount.		
		Rs.	a.	p.
28.	Durga Das Mehra ..	17,000	0	0
29	Lassa Joo Chrongu ..	3,059	0	0
30	Gulab Ram Attar ..	2,505	0	0
31	Sudarshan Halwai ..	312	0	0
32	Kanth Ram Attar ..	2,015	0	0
33	Damodhar Dina Nath ..	1,500	0	0
	D.—Bodhghar.			
34	Hari Ram Koul ..	949	14	0
35	Zanardhan Nanwai ..	290	0	0
	E.—Seha Yar.			
36	Kailash Ram Madho Ram ..	2,535	0	0
37	Maheshwar Nath Ragho Ram ..	5,097	10	0
	F.—Malarattu.			
38	Shubh Ram Sarvanand Attar ..	4,363	0	0
39	Sudarshan Balbadar Attar ..	3,000	0	0
	G.—Zaina Kadal.			
40	Raja Ram Kailash Ram ..	338	0	0
	H.—Sarai Kadal.			
41	Govind Ram Thotha ..	.....	
	I.—Jamal Atta.			
42	Krishen Das Attar ..	4,535	0	0
	J.—Vazapora.			
43	Sudarshan Koul son of Total Koul ..	500	0	0
	K.—Khoja Bazar.			
44	Thakur Das ..	.....	
	L.—Chhatabal.			
45	Daya Ram Kaw ..	2,183	0	0
46	Madho Ram Bazaz ..	4,417	15	0
	M.—Safa Kadal.			
47	Shrihar Joo Shivji Bayu ..	28,202	0	0
	N.—Naushera (Vicharnag).			
48	Deva Ram Chaudri ..	10,117	12	0
49	Madusudhan Khar No. 1 ..	7,341	0	0

Serial No.	Name.	Amount.
		Rs. a. p.
50	Madsudhan Khar No. 2	900 0 0
51	Shyam Lal Koul	1,704 10 0
52	Shridhar Pandit Kokru	3,250 13 0
53	Prem Nath Attar No. 1	4,000 0 0
54	„ „ No. 2	
List of Families looted at Vicharnag.		
1	Narayan Joo Khar	6,019 0 0
2	Shivji Khar	857 0 0
3	Govind Joo Khar (Sarvanand)	2,840 0 0
4	Madusudhan Khar (Dina Nath)	8,000 0 0
5	Nila Kanth Peer	38,187 0 0
6	Anand Bayu	25 0 0
7	Kailash Bat	1,23,250 0 0
8	Sri Kanth Attar	5,875 0 0
9	Sona Ram Attar	12,000 0 0
10	Permanand Attar	5,730 0 0
11	Madho Ram Khar	102 0 0
12	Sona Koul Peer	175 0 0
13	Natha Joo Peer	700 0 0

APPENDIX III.

Excesses Committed at Vicharnag.

No account of the doings of the Muslim mob on the 13th of the July would be complete without particulars of the outrages committed on Pandit women at Vicharnag. But, in a matter of this kind it is very difficult to get the actual sufferers themselves relate all the excesses committed on them. Kashmiri Pandits are singularly jealous of the sanctity of their homes and the honour of their women. The families concerned are all respectable and the matter was of such delicacy that our Special Committee did not try to probe and the sufferers were not communicative. The following facts, however, are incontestible, though for reasons stated the names and descriptions of the sufferers are not given:—

1. Women of three families were stripped naked. They were told that they had concealed ornaments in their private parts.

2. Sticks were pushed towards the private parts of some of the women.
3. The faces and breasts of four women and one unmarried girl were badly bitten.
4. In one house two young ladies had remained concealed. Regular search was made for them till at last they were found in the kitchen, the Muslim servant of the family having helped in the search. The ladies were stripped naked and pulled down the steps into the compound by the legs.
5. Where women were not stripped naked, the miscreants thrust their probing hands inside the "Pheran" in order to make sure that nothing was concealed within.
6. Indecent assaults were made on almost all the women, whose houses were looted.
7. Where there were few males, outrages are reported to have been severer than where the males were better represented.
8. If women were not actually raped the reason is that their men-folk allowed their property to be looted and burnt and destroyed rather than endure their women being raped.
9. Seeing themselves outnumbered by their armed assailants, the people seemed to have prepared themselves for losing their all, if they could only save their women from the last excesses of Goondaism. Iron safes, cash and account books had to be surrendered as a cost for the women's being spared the last excesses. Almost all the men wounded at Vicharnag received injuries in defending or trying to defend their women from the mob.
10. Some women were actually without clothes for days after the pillage and to cover their shame had to borrow things from their less unfortunate neighbours, who had escaped the attentions of the mob.

When our first relief party reached Vicharnag with such amount as we could collect at short notice, the havoc and the devastation wrought by the hooligans was all too visible. One Kailash Buth who had been owner of cash and property worth over a lac at 3 p. m. on the 13th July, was penniless only two hours after. His house was emptied of everything. Our Special Committee found him gathering grains of rice scattered on the steps by the plunderers. Another house of a substantial man was similarly denuded of every thing; only an old shoe without its fellow was left. Earthen-pots broken, books torn, windows, Almirahs and Trunks smashed, walls and floors scratched, kitchens excavated—this is what confronted our relief party on all sides. Half-burnt "*Razais*", broken *charkhas*, profaned scriptures, smashed iron safes were seen in some compounds. Vandalism had been the order of the day and gardens were deplete of vegetables, which were either removed or destroyed. An invalid was almost done to death and succeeded in saving his life only by surrendering Rs. 38,000 in cash and jewellery. Another man who tried to reason with the mob and appealed to their compassion was thrown down twice from the window of the second storey of his house and severely injured. All those who made the least attempt at resistance were assaulted with butchers' knives. Stones were freely used and axes were displayed to over-awe the resisters. It may be noted here that some of the sufferers had already been rendered powerless by the assaults of the mob on their shops at Naushera Bazar, the looting of which formed the prelude to the later tragedy. Some idea of the injuries and the

devastation perpetrated will be given by some of the Photos which were taken by the Relief Party and will be submitted when this statement is being actually read out before the Commission.

To spare the feelings of the sufferers who, only a few days ago, were as substantial men as any belonging to our community, we refrain from stating what relief we rendered to individual families in cash and kind. But, till the 17th or 18th some of them were actually starving and naked and scores of people had not so much as a *chatai* left to pass the night on. It was with no small difficulty that our Special Committee could make the sufferers except offers of relief. It was a tragedy to watch these people with voices choked with anguish, and eyes wet with tears stretching their trembling hands, after repeated insistence on the one side and protests of resignation to fate on the other, to accept our meagre help in order to allow their crying little children to live.

The sufferers roundly complained of the callousness of the authorities towards them. We were told as follows:—

1. No Minister or responsible officer of the Government paid a visit to Vicharnag to enquire into the atrocities perpetrated on them.
2. Those who took active part in the looting could be easily identified as they belong to the neighbouring villages and some of them owed large sums of money to the traders whom they looted.
3. The Police party at Vicharnag was composed mostly of Muslims and they declined to help in tracing the looted property most of which could have been recovered at the time by careful search.
4. Three Muslim Policemen one after another refused when ordered by their officer to accompany the wounded to the Government Hospital. The fourth who subsequently accompanied them misbehaved himself.
5. One Maulvi Yahiya, said to be brother of the Mir-Waiz, appeared on the scene after the occurrence and told the Muslims not to mind the Police or the Military, as he had been personally told by Mr. Wakefield that they had no power to make any searches or arrests. This frustrated what little hope of justice there still had remained. The officer-in-charge of Police who tried to interrupt the Maulvi was abused. This encouraged the rioters beyond measure, so much so, that the sufferers were threatened with being finished on the withdrawal of the Military.
6. Five days after the occurrence, the Police Minister visited Naushera where the Muslims apparently after previous notice, had organised two long ranks of women and boys along the two sides of the road, who shed crocodile tears to give an entirely wrong colouring to what had happened and to make it appear that it was the butcher that had been killed by the sheep and the biter that had been bitten by his victim. He did not, for reasons best known to him, pay a visit to Vicharnag, which is only a furlong from Naushera.

APPENDIX IV.

An illustrative list of cases in which Muslims have been given preference over Hindus in Gazetted and higher executive services during recent years.

Serial No.	Name.	Department.	REMARKS.
1	M. Abdul Karim ..	Medical ..	Was granted S. A. S. scholarship without competition.
2	M. Rahmat Ullah ..	" ..	Was granted A. S. scholarship without competition.
3	M. Ali Mohammad ..	" ..	Was granted S. A. S. scholarship without competition.
4	M. Fazal Ahmad ..	" ..	Was granted A. S. scholarship without competition.
5	M. Mohammad Ashrafi ..	" ..	" " "
6	Sh. Ghulam Mohammad ..	Co-operative ..	Was selected for Co-operative training without competition.
7	Mr. Hassan Shah ..	" ..	" " "
8	M. Ghulam Jilani ..	" ..	" " "
9	M. Maqbul Ahmad ..	" ..	Specially promoted to Assistant Registrar's post.
10	M. Abdul Qadir ..	Judicial ..	Appointed Munsiff over the heads of over a dozen senior Hindu candidates.
11	M. Abdul Hakim ..	" ..	Specially sent for LL. B. without competition.
12	M. Muzaffar-ud-Din ..	" ..	" " "
13	M. Mubarik Khan ..	" ..	Specially sent for Bar-at-Law without competition.
14	M. Abdul Rashid ..	Education ..	Was appointed Lecturer in English in P. W. College, Jammu in preference to first class Hindu M. A.
15	M. Kamal Din ..	Municipality ..	A ward officer. Was appointed Secretary Municipal Committee over senior Hindu candidates.
16	M. Noor Illahi ..	Revenue ..	Specially promoted as Revenue Assistant.
17	M. Abdul Rashid ..	Judicial ..	Specially promoted Registrar High Court.
18	M. Noor Shah ..	Revenue ..	Specially promoted as Revenue Assistant.
19	M. Lal Khan ..	Education ..	Was a teacher. Specially promoted as Assistant Inspector for Mohammedan Education.
20	M. Faiz Alam ..	" ..	Was awarded post-graduate scholarship without competition.
21	S. M. Abdulla Khan ..	Accounts ..	Was appointed Assistant Accounts Officer only because he is a Mohammedan otherwise he is unqualified for the post.

Serial No.	Name.	Department.	REMARKS.
22	M. Ghulam Rashid ..	Education ..	Was awarded post-graduate scholarship without competition.
23	M. Abdul Rahim ..	" ..	" " "
24	M. Ghulam Abbas Khan ..	Judicial ..	Was awarded LL. B. scholarship without competition.
25	M. Ghulam Ahmad ..	Education and Accounts.	Was awarded a post-graduate scholarship. Failed in M. A. Was appointed specially to the post of Superintendent Accountant General's office (150-250 p. m.) as against Hindu graduates who are given Rs. 42 p. m. Was selected without competition for higher audits and accounts training.
26	M. Abdul Rashid ..	Judicial ..	Was granted LL. B. scholarship without competition.
27	M. Qazi Feroz Din ..	" ..	An ordinary clerk, selected for Secretary training superseding many senior men. Was appointed to the post of Assistant Secretary and thereafter as Secretary C. S. R. and S. S. Board after two months' nominal training.
28	M. A. Ghani Fazili ..	Judicial ..	Specially awarded LL. B. scholarship without competition.
29	Professor Mohammad Ibrahim	Education ..	Lecturer, P. W. College, Jammu; was appointed Inspector of Schools as a special case.
30	M. G. R. Khan ..	....	Selected specially for Civil Engineering training without competition.
31	Mir Hassan Shah ..	Revenue ..	Unqualified but especially promoted to Wazir-i-Wazarat's grade on condition of passing examination which he never did and yet was promoted to Rs. 1,000 p. m. grade.
32	M. Akram Khan ..	" ..	Unqualified and especially promoted to Wazir-i-Wazarat.
33	M. Ahad Shah ..	" ..	Unqualified and specially promoted to Tehsildar's grade.
34	M. Tassaduq Hussain ..	" ..	" " "
35	M. Sarwar Khan ..	" ..	" " "
36	Ch. Faiz Ullah ..	" ..	Specially appointed Tehsildar over the head of a senior candidates.
37	M. Iftikhar Ahmad ..	Customs ..	An ordinary clerk; was appointed Deputy Inspector of Customs, without qualification.
38	Khalifa Abdur Rahim ..	Political ..	An ordinary typist and started service on Rs. 30 p. m.; was appointed Personal Assistant to Mr. Wakefield on Rs. 400 p. m. over the heads of Hindu M. As. and B. As. senior to him in the same office.

Serial No.	Name.	Department.	REMARKS.
39	Sh. Abdul Hamid ..	Forest ..	Without any qualification, appointed D. F. O. over the heads of qualified Hindus.
40	R. Sarwar Khan ..	" ..	" " "

NOTE.—A glaring example of the preference given to the Muslims is the notorious fact of four Muslim LL. Bs. fresh from the College, being appointed Munsiffs last year in preference to a score of Hindu candidates of long standing. Many Muslim candidates were specially selected, for Forest and Veterinary training. But as the examinations are in the hands of outside bodies the candidates could not succeed and Hindus had to be taken perforce.

This list which deals with Gazetted and higher executive appointments only is illustrative but not exhaustive, even for such posts. In the lower ranks Muslims are being recruited indiscriminately and given preference over well-trained and capable Hindus. Muslims who have passed the Matriculation examination only and have not been in service before, are being appointed Head-Assistants in preference to Hindu M. As. and Hindu Clerks of 30 years standing.

In the Education Department the policy of giving preference to Muslims has gone so far that teaching has become inefficient. The Muslim demand for Muslim teachers must affect the standard of teaching. Arabic teachers are appointed to provide for Muslims who can be shown to have knowledge of the Quran even though they may be otherwise illiterate. 32 Mohammedans possessing little or no qualifications were appointed only this year as Arabic teachers in connection with compulsory education, with the object of attracting Muslim students to these schools by giving them religious instructions, though no such provision has been made for Hindu boys.

It can be shown from incontestible facts and figures that the proportion of Hindus to the Muslims in the total population is inversed in the case of educated population. If Muslims are 75 per cent. of population they do not contain more than 25 per cent. of the educated population. For every one unemployed Muslim B. A. or M. A. there are 30 unemployed Hindu B. As. and M. As. while for every one Muslim below the ranks of a B. A., who is unemployed there are over 50 such unemployed Hindus. More educated Kashmiri Hindus have left this State and are serving in different Indian States or Provinces than the whole number of Muslim educated men who are unemployed. In fact inspite of special scholarships and all sorts of facilities, they do not take to education because their own professions are more paying than petty clerkships. The Government has had several times to go a-begging to fill up vacancies where it was desired to appoint Muslims.

Abstract of the illustrative lists of qualified (unemployed) Kashmiri Pandits 1931.

I.	(a)	M. A., LL. B.	...	2
	(b)	M. Sc.	...	3
	(c)	M. A.	...	4
II.	(a)	B. Sc.	...	7
	(b)	B. A., B. T.	...	1
	(c)	B. A.	...	45
III.	(a)	F. Sc.	...	2
	(b)	F. A.	...	65
VI.		Matriculates	...	438

NOTE.—This list is incomplete even for city of Srinagar as the lists of unemployed qualified Kashmiri Pandits of many Mohallas were not received in time and could not be included in this general list.

An illustrative list of unemployed M. As. in the Kashmiri Pandits community in 1931.

S. No.	Name.	Address.	Qualification.
1.	Pt. Janki Nath Bhan	... Habba Kadal ...	M.A., LL.B.
2.	Pt. Gopi Nath Garyali	... Saraf Kadal ...	M. A.
3.	Pt. Nil Kanth Hawk	... Rainawari ...	M.A., LL. B.
4.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Kaw	... " ...	M. Sc.
5.	Pt. Jia Lal Dhar	... Zaindar Mohalla	M. Sc.
6.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Wokhlu	... Fateh Kadal ...	M. Sc.
7.	Pt. Neranjan Nath Dhar	... Safa Kadal ...	M. A.
8.	Pt. Sham Lal Pandit	... Ganpatyar ...	M. A.
9.	Pt. Dina Nath Raina	... Purshyar ...	M. A.

An illustrative list of unemployed graduates in the Kashmiri Pandits community in 1931.

Serial No.	Name.	Address.	Qualification.
1	Pt. Shamboo Nath Raina	... Rainawari ...	B. A.
2	Pt. Shamboo Nath Kak	... " ...	"
3	Pt. Sat Lal Koul	... " ...	"
4	Pt. Bishember Nath Choudari	... " ...	"
5	Pt. Dina Nath Warikoo	... " ...	"
6	Pt. Jia Lal Dhar	... " ...	"
7	Pt. Prem Nath Rawlu	... " ...	"
8	Pt. Gopi Nath Mattu	... " ...	"
9	Pt. Sri Kanth Choku	... " ...	"
10	Pt. Prem Nath Misri	... Zaindar Mohalla.	"
11	Pt. Janki Nath Labru	... " ...	"
12	Pt. Nidhan Kisen Tiku	... " ...	"
13	Pt. Balbadar Waloo	... " ...	"
14	Pt. Prem Nath Raina	... " ...	"
15	Pt. Janki Nath Khoshu	... Gankhan ...	"
16	Pt. Sham Lal Koul	... " ...	"
17	Pt. Prem Nath Kaloo	... Gundi Ahlamar.	"
18	Pt. Dina Nath Dhar	... Safa Kadal ...	B. Sc.
19	Pt. Shamboo Nath Dhar	... " ...	"
20	Pt. Dina Nath Mattu	... " ...	"

Serial No.	Name.	Address.	Qualification.
21	Pt. Radha Kishen Ganju ...	Sathu ...	B. Sc.
22	Mr. Radhey Nath ...	" ...	"
23	Pt. Arjun Nath Koul ...	" ...	B. A.
24	Pt. Madhusudan Badam ...	" ...	"
25	Pt. Shivji Rawal ...	Chinkral Mohalla	"
26	Pt. Prem Nath Raina ...	" ...	"
27	Pt. Kanya Lal Koul ...	Drabiyar ...	"
28	Pt. Prithvi Nath Warikoo ...	" ...	"
29	Pt. Shamboo Nath Koul ...	" ...	"
30	Pt. Arjun Nath Dhar ...	Bana Mohalla...	"
31	Pt. Janki Nath Vishen ...	" ...	"
32	Pt. Radha Kishen Kotru ...	" ...	"
33	Pt. Amar Nath Sultan ...	Malik Angan...	"
34	Pt. R. K. Mirza ...	Budhgair ...	B. Sc.
35	Pt. N. N. Fotedar ...	" ...	B. A., B. T.
36	Pt. B. L. Tiku ...	" ...	B. Sc.
37	Pt. Salig Ram Paila ...	Badiyar ...	B. A.
38	Pt. Vidh Lal Saraf ...	Gund Ahlamar	"
39	Pt. Neranjan Nath Kalu ...	" ...	"
40	Pt. Prem Nath Koul ...	Raghunath Mandir.	"
41	Pt. Vish Nath Tiku ...	" ...	"
42	Pt. Kashi Nath Raina ...	Karfali Mohalla	"
43	Pt. Sham Lal But ...	Shashyar ...	"
44	Pt. Prem Nath Bhan ...	Sheli-teng ...	"
45	Pt. Neranjan Nath Mattu ...	" ...	"
46	Pt. Janki Nath Kantroo ...	Madanyar ...	"
47	Pt. Jia Lal Ounth ...	Kharyar ...	"
48	Pt. Vish Nath Mandloo ...	" ...	"
49	Pt. Shamboo Nath Raina ...	" ...	"
50	Pt. Janki Nath Chrongu ...	Maldyar ...	"
51	Pt. Dina Nath Hanjura ...	" ...	"
52	Pt. Damodhar Buth Hanjura ...	" ...	"
53	Pt. Gwash Lal Koul ...	" ...	"

An illustrative list of Unemployed Under-Graduates in the Kashmiri Pandit community in 1931.

Serial No.	Name.	Address.	Qualification.
1	Pt. Janki Nath Koul	Rainawari	F. A.
2	Pt. Rugh Nath Pandit	"	"
3	Pt. Neranjan Nath Handoo	"	"
4	Pt. Janki Nath Jalali	"	"
5	Pt. Amar Nath Jalali	"	"
6	Pt. Shamboo Nath Jalali	"	"
7	Pt. Sham Lal Saraf	"	"
8	Pt. Jagar Nath Jalali	"	"
9	Pt. Thakur Buth	"	"
10	Pt. Kashi Nath Rangrez	"	"
11	Pt. Nand Lal Koul	"	"
12	Pt. Jia Lal Koul	"	"
13	Pt. Sat Lal Sadhu	"	"
14	Pt. Radha Kishen Koul	"	"
15	Pt. Radha Kishen Koul Khushu	"	"
16	Pt. Sri Kanth Koul	"	F. Sc.
17	Pt. Madhusudan Kaw	Gankhan	F. A.
18	Pt. Moti Lal Kilam	Dookanisangin.	"
19	Pt. Sri Kanth Dhar	"	"
20	Pt. Rugh Nath Dhar	"	"
21	Pt. Shamboo Nath Dhar	Safa Kadal	"
22	Pt. Dina Nath Dhar	"	"
23	Pt. Dina Nath Raina	Sathu	"
24	Pt. Kashi Nath Khazanchi	"	F. Sc.
25	Pt. Radha Kishen Koul	"	"
26	Pt. Sham Lal Zutshi	Chinkral Mohalla	F. A.
27	Pt. Prem Nath Zalpuri	"	"
28	Pt. Madhusudan Hanzura	"	"
29	Pt. Sham Lal Koul	"	"
30	Pt. Jia Lal Khar	Vicharnag	"
31	Pt. Pushkar Nath Trakroo	Drabiyar	"
32	Pt. Vidh Lal Koul	"	"
33	Pt. Radha Kishen Sapru	Malapura	"

Serial No.	Name.	Address.	Qualification.
34	Pt. Mahadev Joo Sapru ...	Narpirastan ...	F. A.
35	Pt. Jagar Nath Munshi ...	Bodhgair ...	"
36	Pt. Janki Nath Koul ...	" ...	"
37	Pt. R. K. Peer ...	" ...	"
38	Pt. Janki Nath Koul ...	Badiyar ...	"
39	Pt. Anand Koul ...	" ...	"
40	Pt. Vidh Lal Vani ...	Gund Ahlamar.	"
41	Pt. Dina Nath Zadoo ...	" ...	"
42	Pt. Prithvi Nath ...	Ganpatyar ...	"
43	Pt. Kesho Nath Bhan ...	Rughnath Mandir	"
44	Pt. Maheshwar Nath Koul ...	" ...	"
45	Pt. Janki Nath Baqaya ...	" ...	"
46	Pt. Amar Nath Fotedar ...	" ...	"
47	Pt. Badri Nath Koul ...	" ...	"
48	Pt. Lambodar Koul ...	" ...	"
49	Pt. Triloki Nath Koul ...	" ...	"
50	Pt. Radha Kishen Zutshi ...	" ...	"
51	Pt. Shamboo Nath Raina ...	" ...	"
52	Pt. Onkar Nath ...	" ...	"
53	Pt. Sham Buth ...	" ...	"
54	Pt. Sham Lal Gurtoo ...	Karfali Mohalla.	"
55	Pt. Radha Kishen Koul ...	" ...	"
56	Pt. Ragho Nath Khuda ...	" ...	"
57	Pt. Shamboo Nath Buth ...	Shashyar ...	"
58	Pt. Neranjan Nath ...	" ...	"
59	Pt. Shamboo Nath Bilwa ...	Shalayar ...	"
60	Pt. Prem Nath Bhan ...	Sheli-teng ...	"
61	Dewan Duni Prasad Madan ...	Kral-khud ...	"
62	Pt. Kashi Nath ...	Safriyar ...	"
63	Pt. Neranjan Nath Kashkari ...	" ...	"
64	Pt. Prem Nath Mala ...	" ...	"
65	Pt. Kashi Nath Ounth ...	Kharyar ...	"
66	Pt. Radha Kishen Sahib ...	" ...	"
67	Pt. Narayan Joo Sharma ...	Chondpura ...	"

An illustrative list of Unemployed Matriculates in the Kashmiri Pandits community in 1931.

Serial No.	Name.	Address.
1.	Pt. Balbadar Kachroo	... Rainawari.
2.	Pt. Jagar Nath Ganju	... "
3.	Pt. Iqbal Nath Ganju	... "
4.	Pt. Balbadar Ganju	... "
5.	Pt. Shivji Koul	... "
6.	Pt. Bishember Nath Ambardar	... "
7.	Pt. Dina Nath Ambardar	... "
8.	Pt. Gopi Nath Ambardar	... "
9.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Dhar	... "
10.	Pt. Madhusudan Fotedar	... "
11.	Pt. Bijieshwar Nath Ambardar	... "
12.	Pt. Radha Kishen Ganju	... "
13.	Pt. Janki Nath Kaw	... "
14.	Pt. Sham Lal Hakim	... "
15.	Pt. Madhusudan Kachru	... "
16.	Pt. Prem Nath ,,	... "
17.	Pt. Damodhar Fotedar	... "
18.	Pt. Prem Nath Khosa	... "
19.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Jalali	... "
20.	Pt. Sham Lal Jalali	... "
21.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Jala	... "
22.	Pt. Arjun Nath Jala	... "
23.	Pt. Janardhan Durani	... "
24.	Pt. Jagar Nath Koul	... "
25.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Dhar	... "
26.	Pt. Sham Lal Koul	... "
27.	Pt. Jagar Nath Zaz	... "
28.	Pt. Servanand Rambal	... "
29.	Pt. Janki Nath Krandu	... "
30.	Pt. N. N. Koda	... "
31.	Pt. Ragho Nath Pandit	... "
32.	Pt. Neranjan Nath Jalali	... "
33.	Pt. Nand Lal Khosa	... "
34.	Pt. Jagar Nath Koul	... "
35.	Pt. Nila Kanth	... "
36.	Pt. Thakur Handoo	... "
37.	Pt. Sham Lal Dharamarthi	... "
38.	Pt. Amar Nath Bira	... "
39.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Chacha	... "
40.	Pt. Som Nath Chacha	... "
41.	Pt. Radha Krishan Kar	... "
42.	Pt. Sham Lal Bira	... "

Serial No.	Name.	Address.
43.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Sathu	... Rainawari.
44.	Pt. Prem Nath Bira	... "
45.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Matoo	... "
46.	Pt. Bishember Nath Wattal	... "
47.	Pt. Nila Kanth Kotroo	... "
48.	Pt. Dina Nath	... "
49.	Pt. Damodar Jala	... "
50.	Pt. Sona Koul	... "
51.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Jalali	... "
52.	Pt. Jia Lal Hakim	... "
53.	Pt. Sham Lal	... "
54.	Pt. Arjan Nath Matoo	... "
55.	Pt. Radha Krishen Pandit	... "
56.	Pt. Lasa Koul	... "
57.	Pt. Samsar Chand	... "
58.	Pt. Jagen Nath Ji	... "
59.	Pt. Dina Nath Pandit	... "
60.	Pt. Bishember Nath Teli	... "
61.	Pt. Radha Krishen Kitroo	... "
62.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Koul	... "
63.	Pt. Kashi Nath Jalali	... "
64.	Pt. Hradey Nath Raina	... "
65.	Pt. Prem Nath Chowdhri	... "
66.	Pt. Jia Lal Raina	... "
67.	Pt. Amar Nath Kar	... "
68.	Pt. Nath Ji Machama	... "
69.	Pt. Dina Nath Muju	... "
70.	Pt. Sham Lal Muju	... "
71.	Pt. Arjan Nath Muju	... "
72.	Pt. Janki Nath Koul	... "
73.	Pt. Jagar Nath Koul	... "
74.	Pt. Prem Nath Koul	... "
75.	Pt. Daya Kishen Koul	... "
76.	Pt. Kanth Ram Raina	... "
77.	Pt. Neranjan Nath Koul Kunu I	... "
78.	Pt. Neranjan Nath Koul Kunu II	... "
79.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Bagh	... "
80.	Pt. Dina Nath Handoo	... "
81.	Pt. Sham Lal Kaw	... "
82.	Pt. Janki Nath Kaw	... "
83.	Pt. Sodha Koul Dharamarthi	... "
84.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Kuchhai	... "
85.	Pt. Gopi Nath Bhan	... "
86.	Pt. Dina Nath Handoo	... "
87.	Pt. N. N. Kinu	... "

Serial No.	Name.	Address.
88.	Pt. Sham Lal Dhar	... Rainawari.
89.	Pt. Rugh Nath Tikur	... "
90.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Tikur	... "
91.	Pt. Isha Lal Wofa	... "
92.	Pt. Sham Lal Wat	... "
93.	Pt. N. N. Ganjoo	... "
94.	Pt. Sri Kanth Kisu	... "
95.	Pt. K. N. Kak	... "
96.	Pt. Badri Nath Wofa	... "
97.	Pt. Maheshwar Nath Wofa	... "
98.	Pt. Kashi Nath Koul	... "
99.	Pt. Kalyan Koul	... "
100.	Pt. Devi Koul	... "
101.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Handu	... "
102.	Pt. R. K. Mattoo	... "
103.	Pt. S. L. Mattoo	... "
104.	Pt. Prem Nath Mattoo	... "
105.	Pt. Chana Koul Charamarthi	... "
106.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Rawloo	... "
107.	Pt. Rugh Nath Wofa	... "
108.	Pt. Sodharshan Kinu	... "
109.	Pt. Sham Lal Sheir	... Dadi Kadal.
110.	Pt. Kashi Nath Ganjoo	... "
111.	Pt. Radha Kishen Kaw	... "
112.	Pt. Jia Lal Ganjoo	... Zaindar Mohalla.
113.	Pt. Mohan Nath Raina	... "
114.	Pt. Lasa Koul	... "
115.	Pt. Neranjan Nath Koul	... "
116.	Pt. Neranjan Nath Mattoo	... "
117.	Pt. Jagar Nath Misri	... "
118.	Pt. Janki Nath Peer	... "
119.	Pt. Neranjan Nath Koul	... "
120.	Pt. Maheshwar Nath Tikur	... "
121.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Tikur	... "
122.	Pt. Prem Nath Dhar	... "
123.	Pt. Radha Kishen Koul	... "
124.	Pt. Jia Lal Kukroo	... "
125.	Pt. Govind Koul	... "
126.	Pt. Jagar Nath Koul	... "
127.	Pt. Gwash Lal Razdan	... "
128.	Pt. Janki Nath Bazaz	... "
129.	Pt. Nand Lal Saraf	... "
130.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Misri	... "
131.	Pt. Prem Nath Pandit	... "
132.	Pt. Dina Nath Chhatabali	... "

Serial No.	Name.	Address.
133.	Pt. Janki Nath Kapuri	... Zaindar Mohalla.
134.	Pt. Prem Nath Vali	...
135.	Pt. Amar Nath Tikur	... "
136.	Pt. Sham Lal Koul	... Gankhan.
137.	Pt. Jia Lal Langroo	... "
138.	Pt. Sarwanand Langroo	... "
139.	Pt. Manohar Nath Kaw	... "
140.	Lala Baldev Chopra	... "
141.	Pt. Nila Kanth Koul	... "
142.	Pt. Gopi Nath Jinsi	... "
143.	Pt. Prem Nath Khushu	... "
144.	Pt. Gopi Nath Raina	... "
145.	Pt. Prem Nath Manwati	... Gund-Ahlamar.
146.	Pt. Dama Koul	... "
147.	Pt. Vasa Koul	... Fateh Kadal.
148.	Pt. Mahadev Koul	... "
149.	Pt. Badri Nath	... "
150.	Pt. Neranjan Nath	... "
151.	Pt. Aftab Koul	... "
152.	Pt. Mahadev Joo	... "
153.	Pt. Neranjan Nath Saraf	... "
154.	Pt. Raj Nath	... "
155.	Pt. Amar Nath	... "
156.	Pt. Prem Nath	... "
157.	Pt. Kashi Nath Daftari	... "
158.	Pt. Lachman Dhar	... "
159.	Pt. Kesho Nath Dhar	... 6/7th Bridge.
160.	Pt. Jia Lal Dhar	... "
161.	Pt. Jagar Nath Shali	... "
162.	Pt. Prem Nath Parimu	... Sikadafar.
163.	Pt. Janki Nath Parimu	... Safa Kadal.
164.	Pt. Nand Lal Shashu	... "
165.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Dhar	... "
166.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Dhar	... 6/7th Bridge.
167.	Pt. Jia Lal Dhar	... Safa Kadal.
168.	Pt. Dina Nath Dullu	... "
169.	Pt. Lambodhar Dhar	... "
170.	Pt. Bishember Nath	... "
171.	Pt. Radha Krishen	... 6/7th Bridge.
172.	Pt. Gopi Nath Vali	... "
173.	Pt. Amar Nath Pajnoo	... "
174.	Pt. Neranjan Nath Raina	... "
175.	Pt. Gopi Nath Gursu	... "
176.	Pt. Prem Nath Dhar	... Sikadafar.
		... 6/7th Bridge.

Serial No.	Name.	Address.
177.	Pt. Kashi Nath Koul	... Sathu.
178.	Pt. Neranjan Nath Jotshi	... "
179.	Pt. Sham Lal Sathu	... "
180.	Pt. Sri Kanth Narayan	... "
181.	Pt. Janki Nath Kachru	... "
182.	Pt. Prem Nath Koul	... "
183.	Pt. Radha Kishen Pajnu	... "
184.	Pt. Lachman Koul	... "
185.	Pt. Jagar Nath Sathu	... "
186.	Pt. Jia Lal Daftari	... "
187.	Pt. Mahanand Kaul	... "
188.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Sapru	... "
189.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Bat	... Chinkral Mohalla.
190.	Pt. Arjan Nath Dhar	... "
191.	Pt. Mahender Nath Vali	... "
192.	Pt. Sham Lal Raina	... "
193.	Pt. Jia Lal Dhar	... "
194.	Pt. Dina Nath Mazari	... "
195.	Pt. Sham Lal Mazari	... "
196.	Pt. Janki Nath Bat	... "
197.	Pt. Jia Lal Kaulposhi	... "
198.	Pt. Jagan Nath Padroo	... "
199.	Pt. Nath Ji Koul	... "
200.	Pt. Neranjan Nath Teli	... "
201.	Pt. Sham Lal Bhan	... "
202.	Pt. Dina Nath Bazaz	... "
203.	Pt. S. N. Dhar	... Vicharnag.
204.	Pt. Arjan Nath Was	... "
205.	Pt. Amar Nath Dhar	... "
206.	Pt. Janki Nath Peer	... "
207.	Pt. Madhusudan Khar	... "
208.	Pt. Mahanand Khar	... "
209.	Pt. Manohar Nath Kaw	... "
210.	Pt. Nanak Chand Peer	... "
211.	Pt. Arjan Nath Variku	... Drabiyar.
212.	Pt. Gopi Nath Variku	... "
213.	Pt. Dina Nath Variku	... "
214.	Pt. Prem Nath Sapru	... "
215.	Pt. Janki Nath Sapru	... "
216.	Pt. Gulshan Koul	... "
217.	Pt. Arjan Nath Naqib	... "
218.	Pt. Jagar Nath Koul	... "
219.	Pt. Triloki Nath Koul	... "
220.	Pt. Tika Lal Mama	... "

Serial No.	Name.	Address.
221.	Pt. Sham Lal Sapru	... Drabiyar.
222.	Pt. Neranjan Nath Mam	... "
223.	Pt. Gopi Nath Kak	... "
224.	Pt. Sarwanand Bhan	... "
225.	Pt. Maheshwar Nath Tupchi	... "
226.	Pt. Amar Nath Kachroo	... Bana Mohalla.
227.	Pt. Balji Ganju	... "
228.	Pt. Vedh Lal Raina	... "
229.	Pt. Janki Nath Trichhal	... "
230.	Pt. Natha Koul	... "
231.	Pt. Janki Nath Raina	... "
232.	Pt. Manohar Nath Koul	... "
233.	Pt. Radha Krishen Koul	... "
234.	Pt. Prem Nath Wukhlu	... "
235.	Pt. Kashi Nath Ludhvoo	... "
236.	Pt. Gopi Nath Munshi	... Malapura.
237.	Pt. S. L. Piala	... "
238.	Pt. S. L. Wokhloo	... "
239.	Pt. Kashi Nath Badgami	... "
240.	Pt. Prem Nath Mahanoori	... "
241.	Pt. Nil Kanth Wuthoo	... "
242.	Pt. Gopi Nath Kotha	... "
243.	Pt. Prem Nath Zutshi	... "
244.	Pt. Amar Nath Piala	... "
245.	Pt. Lambodhar Ganjoo	... "
246.	Pt. Bishember Nath Kaw	... "
247.	Pt. Janki Nath Raina	... "
248.	Pt. N. N. Bhan	... Narpirastan.
249.	Pt. Bishember Nath Trichal	... "
250.	Pt. Vasa Dev Pandit	... "
251.	Pt. Prem Nath Nehru	... "
252.	Pt. Kashi Nath Sapru	... "
253.	Pt. Prem Nath Daftari	... Malik Angan.
254.	Pt. Prem Nath Daftari	... "
255.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Saraf	... "
256.	Pt. Prem Nath Saraf	... "
257.	Pt. Maheshwar Nath Tikoo	... "
258.	Pt. Jai Kishen	... "
259.	Pt. Prem Nath Raina Malik	... "
260.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Mattu	... "
261.	Pt. Gopi Nath Mattu	... "
262.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Koul	... "
263.	Pt. Damodhar Mala	... "
264.	Pt. Janki Nath Nehru	... "
265.	Pt. Vidya Lal Trichal	... "

Serial No.	Name.	Address.
266.	Pt. Gopi Nath Koul	... Malik Angan.
267.	Pt. Prem Nath Kilam	... "
268.	Pt. Amar Nath Gadoo	... "
269.	Pt. Jia Lal Bhan	... Bodhgair.
270.	Pt. Kesho Nath Munshi	... "
271.	Pt. Maheshwar Nath Dhar	... "
272.	Pt. Shanker Nath Koul	... "
273.	Pt. Gopi Nath Dhar	... "
274.	Pt. Lasa Koul	... "
275.	Pt. Gobind Koul	... "
276.	Pt. Lal Chand Khar	... "
277.	Pt. Prem Nath Jailkhani	... "
278.	Pt. Ganesh Dass	... "
279.	Pt. Jia Lal Sapru	... "
280.	Pt. Gopi Nath Bhan	... "
281.	Pt. Nil Kanth Bhan	... "
282.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Handoo	... "
283.	Pt. Radha Kishen Munshi	... "
284.	Pt. Sham Lal Ugra	... "
285.	Pt. Govind Koul	... "
286.	Pt. Nil Kanth Zadoo	... "
287.	Pt. S. Qazi	... "
288.	Pt. P. N. Kalposh	... "
289.	Pt. S. N. Kaw	... "
290.	Pt. J. N. Tiku	... "
291.	Pt. P. N. Batyari	... "
292.	Pt. N. N. Tiku	... "
293.	Pt. A. N. Tiku	... "
294.	Pt. B. N. Tiku	... "
295.	Pt. Gopi Nath Mattu	... "
296.	Pt. D. N. Mattu	... "
297.	Pt. A. N. Koul	... "
298.	Pt. D. N. Gorkhu	... "
299.	Pt. Vesh Nath	... "
300.	Pt. Jia Lal Dhani	... "
301.	Pt. A. N. Bangroo	... "
302.	Pt. R. N. Jailkhani	... "
303.	Pt. V. N. Jailkhani	... "
304.	Pt. N. N. Bazaz	... "
305.	Pt. Prem Nath Chana	... Badiyar.
306.	Pt. Jia Lal Buth	... "
307.	Pt. Amar Nath Koul	... "
308.	Pt. Sat Lal Moza	... "
309.	Pt. Dina Nath	... "

Serial No.	Name.	Address.
310.	Pt. Prem Nath Dhar	... Badiyar.
311.	Pt. Arjun Nath Vali	... "
312.	Pt. Badri Nath	... "
313.	Pt. Sri Kanth Vali	... "
314.	Pt. Lambodhar Koul	... "
315.	Pt. Prem Nath Razdan	... "
316.	Pt. Neranjan Nath Kaloo	... "
317.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Gangoo	... "
318.	Pt. Gopi Nath Razdan	... "
319.	Pt. Shivji Razdan	... Ganpatyar.
320.	Pt. Sansar Chand Handoo	... "
321.	Pt. Sudharshan Sawhney	... "
322.	Pt. Jia Lal Razdan	... "
323.	Pt. Prem Nath Langoo	... "
324.	Pt. Som Nath Zadoo	... "
325.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Raina	... Ragnath Mandir.
326.	Pt. Sham Lal Koul	... "
327.	Pt. Jia Lal Muju	... "
328.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Muju	... "
329.	Pt. Prem Nath Hastoo	... "
330.	Pt. Nil Kanth Koul	... "
331.	Pt. Jagar Nath Ganju	... "
332.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Razdan	... "
333.	Pt. Sri Kanth Koul	... "
334.	Pt. Ram Chand Koul	... "
335.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Tikur	... "
336.	Pt. Jagan Nath Tikur	... "
337.	Pt. Kashi Nath Bamzai	... "
338.	Pt. Mohan Lal Koul	... "
339.	Pt. Bishamber Nath Raina	... "
340.	Pt. Jagar Nath Raina	... "
341.	Pt. Janki Nath Hakim	... "
342.	Pt. Amar Nath Buth	... "
343.	Pt. Kashi Nath Baqaya	... Shala Kadal.
344.	Pt. Sham Lal Tikur	... "
345.	Pt. Radha Kishen Sharma	... "
346.	Pt. Tika Lal Koul	... "
347.	Pt. Kashi Nath Koul	... "
348.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Raina	... "
349.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Raina	... Karfali Mohalla.
350.	Pt. Rugh Nath Raina	... "
351.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Saraf	... "
352.	Pt. Sat Lal	... "
353.	Pt. Jia Lal Raina	... "

Serial No.	Name.	Address.
354.	Pt. Radha Kishen	... Karfali Mohalla.
355.	Pt. Prem Nath Wanchoo	... "
356.	Pt. Dina Nath Wazir	... "
357.	Pt. Neranjan Nath	... "
358.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Koul	... "
359.	Pt. Prem Nath Bamzai	... "
360.	Pt. Gopi Nath Bamzai	... "
361.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Khoda	... "
362.	Pt. Prem Nath Koul	... "
363.	Pt. Neranjan Nath Teli	... Sheshyar.
364.	Pt. Arjun Nath Wattal	... "
365.	Pt. Manohar Nath	... "
366.	Pt. Arjun Nath Kachru	... Shalayar.
367.	Pt. Prem Nath Misri	... "
368.	Pt. Prem Nath Bangroo	... "
369.	Pt. Ganga Prasad	... "
370.	Pt. Jagar Nath	... "
371.	Pt. Mohan Lal	... "
372.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Koul Saraf	... Madanyar.
373.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Saraf	... "
374.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Hashya	... "
375.	Pt. Dina Nath Sapru	... Shehli-teng.
376.	Pt. Dina Nath Sapru II	... "
377.	Pt. Janki Nath Bakhshi	... "
378.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Sapru	... "
379.	Pt. Radha Krishen Sapru	... "
380.	Pt. Sudharshan Koul	... "
381.	Pt. Rugh Nath Malla	... "
382.	Pt. Matab Koul	... "
383.	Pt. Damodar Sapru	... "
384.	Pt. Damodar Koul	... Aga Hamam.
385.	Pt. Janki Nath Zutshi	... Shehli-teng.
386.	Pt. Radha Krishen Dhar	... "
387.	Pt. Ram Chand Mattoo	... "
388.	Pt. Ram Chand Bazaz	... "
389.	Pt. Dina Nath Bazaz	... "
390.	Pt. Sham Lal Shah	... "
391.	Pt. Jia Lal Bat	... "
392.	Pt. Sham Lal Mattoo	... "
393.	Pt. Gopi Nath Dobi	... "
394.	Pt. Mohan Kishen Kak	... Zaindar Mohalla.
395.	Pt. Babu Ji	... "
396.	Pt. Jia Lal Bhan	... "
397.	Pt. Pitember Malla	... "
398.	Pt. Dina Nath Bazaz	... "
399.	Pt. Janki Nath	... "

Serial No.	Name.	Address.
400.	Pt. Sham Lal	... Safriyar.
401.	Pt. Amar Nath	... "
402.	Pt. Jia Lal Dhar	... Kral-khud.
403.	Pt. Janki Nath Shangloo	... "
404.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Sheshoo	... "
405.	Pt. Prem Nath Shangloo	... "
406.	Pt. Birjendra Nath	... "
407.	Pt. Neranjan Nath	... Chhatabal.
408.	Pt. Maheshwar Nath Koul	... "
409.	Pt. Radha Kishen Dhar	... "
410.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Koul	... "
411.	Pt. Kashi Nath Raina	... "
412.	Pt. Damodhar Kala	... "
413.	Pt. Damodhar Chhatabali	... "
414.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Hastoo	... "
415.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Gadoo	... Kharyar.
416.	Pt. Dina Nath Kotwal.	... "
417.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Mala.	... "
418.	Pt. Madhsudan Gadoo	... "
419.	Pt. Jagar Nath Bazaz	... "
420.	Pt. Jagar Nath Bandari	... "
421.	Pt. Rugh Nath Shanglu	... "
422.	Pt. Tara Chand Shangloo	... "
423.	Pt. Gopi Nath Bandari	... "
424.	Pt. Prem Nath Khudbali	... "
425.	Pt. Jia Lal Sapru	... "
426.	Pt. Shamboo Nath Acharya	... Chonpura.
427.	Pt. Vas Dev Nehru	... "
428.	Pt. Sham Lal Harkar	... Malayar.
429.	Pt. Radha Kishen Sus	... "
430.	Pt. Amar Nath Sus	... "
431.	Pt. Janki Nath Kukroo	... "
432.	Pt. Rugh Nath	... "
433.	Pt. Sham Lal Koul	... "
434.	Pt. Jia Lal Jogi	... "
435.	Pt. Amar Nath Saraf	... "
436.	Pt. Neranjan Nath Nehru	... Chondpura.
437.	Pt. Prithvi Nath Sapru (doctor)	... "

EXHIBIT No. 53.

**Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Ahmad Sheikh, Fireman
(Witness No. 39), dated 20th Sawan 1988.**

I beg to submit that on 29th Har 1988, an information was received to the effect that the Central Jail had been set on fire. I proceeded to the Jail with the Fire Engine. I met a Muslim crowd at Saraf Kadal. I was beaten and stoned. Thereupon I ran to the Jail where I saw the Superintendent Fire Brigade. I narrated all the facts to him and stated that the force was beaten at Saraf Kadal and that the engine might have been damaged. I returned to the station by the evening.

EXHIBIT No. 55.

**Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Gaffar Dar, Driver (Witness No. 40),
dated 20th Sawan 1988.**

I beg to state that on 29th Har 1988, an information regarding the out-burst of fire was received from the Central Jail. Hand Engine was taken to the Jail by the force present at the post. No sooner we reached Saraf Kadal, we saw a crowd of Muslims who gave us blows and stoned the engine. I ran to the Jail immediately and there I met the Superintendent of Fire Brigade. I mentioned to him that all the force with the engine had been beaten by the mob and that there was every likelihood of the engine being damaged. I was ordered to go back to the station by the Station Officer Jala Sheikh. I obeyed the order.

EXHIBIT No. 56.

**Written Statement of (1) Prithi Nath Madan, (2) Jager Nath Koul, (3) Rasul Sheikh
(Witness No. 41).**

On 13th July 1931, Monday at about 1-30 p. m. I left the house of Rai Sahib Pandit Sham Sunder Lal Dhar at Saffa Kadal in his Buick Car to accompany my sister (Mrs. Sham Sunder Lal Dhar) who was going to see our parents at Habba Kadal. Rasul Sheikh was driving the car. Rai Sahib's two children with a Mohammedan maid servant and a male Pandit servant were with us. On arriving at Habba Kadal and going into the house we were informed that there was some disturbance at the Jail and at Maharajganj. Only a short time after this, information was received that shops in the bazar were being closed. We heard some noise which we were told was of some cries raised by Mohammedans. Rasul Sheikh, the driver, who was waiting outside in the car came in and urged upon us that we should return to Saffa Kadal without delay, as he feared there would be trouble. We got into the car; a third child and a Dogra maid servant also accompanying this time. Pandit Jager Nath Koul, Rai Sahib's cousin met us just where the car was standing. He had left his office, Conservator of Forests, on hearing of the disturbances in the city. He too was accommodated in the car. We all crammed ourselves into the car; servant Jia Lal sitting on one of the mudguards. We passed through Ganpat Yar, Maisuma, Amira Kadal, and along the road near Mr. Hadow's. Mohammedans were loitering about or standing in groups.

A few chains above the Chattabal bridge we were met by a crowd of at least 1,000 Mohammedans all bare-headed and most of them carrying Lathies and stones. I espied the crowd from a distance of about

10 yards. It looked a furious mob bent on mischief. We were too near them and therefore I thought it useless and perhaps unsafe to ask the driver to turn round and return to Amira Kadal side. When we came near, the crowd stood to block our way. Two *charpoys* were being carried by some persons and there appeared to be two bodies. The mob was raising revolutionary cries, and uttering abuses against Their Highness's, the Maharaj Kumar Ji and Hindus. On seeing us some of them said that we were Hindus and Pandits and should be destroyed. They started throwing stones and striking Lathi blows on the car, but four or five Mohammedans one of whom I know belongs to the family of Shawl Merchants of Nawa Bazar, tried to stem the attack. It was through their help that we were able to take down the car into a cart-stand which happens to be at this point. Part of the mob followed us throwing stones and uttering abuses and threats. Here again the four or five men referred to above came to our help. It however appeared that the mob would get beyond their control. The Musalman (Shawl Merchants man) came near me and said in English, that we should not show ourselves and that we should atonce reverse the car and rush home. We succeeded in this; the mob all the time uttering cries and threats. Jia Lal servant on the mudguard received slight injury. Rasul Sheikh was hit on the head by a stone. The back glass of the car was smashed and also one celloliod side curtain. One stone fell into the car. It just passed the shoulders of my sister and fell on the wrist of my niece causing slight injury to her wrist. The inmates were saved from further injury from stones and blows as all curtains were up. The mudguards were damaged.

A few minutes before we left the cart-stand, I saw Rai Sahib's Fiat Car being held up a little distance up the road and his rushing the car on to the by-path near Doctor Vaisnavi's house. While proceeding home in great panic we slowed down the car at the Chattabal Police Chowki and informed a Policeman who was standing at the door of the Chowki that Rai Sahib was held up, but I learnt afterwards that they had not dared to move out. From Chattabal onwards in the bazar I saw all shops closed and Mohammedans in groups armed with Lathies and looking wild standing here and there. On reaching Rai Sahib's house I went through his garden to the house of Pandit Bal Kak Dhar to telephone to some Police officer or Magistrate to rescue Rai Sahib, but I failed to get anyone.

Rai Sahib came to his house about 5 p. m. about an hour after us.

I joined the party at Habba Kadal on my way back to my home from office. I have got nothing to add to the Statement of Pandit Prithvi Nath Madan.

(Sd.) JAGER NATH.

EXHIBIT No. 57.

**Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Ghulam Rasul, Motor Driver
(Witness No. 42), dated 26th Sawan 1988.**

I am a private servant of R. S. Pandit Sham Sundar Lal. My duty is to drive the car. On Monday when the disturbances took place and *hartal* was observed, I drove the family and children of R. S. to Habba Kadal to the house of Dewan Sahib. Dewan Prithvi Nath also accompanied us. I was waiting outside the house when a noise was heard regarding the unrest at Jail and loot at Maharajganj. The shops were being closed and people were running about panic stricken. I foresaw

danger. I went inside the house and asked the inmates to return immediately. On our way back we saw bare-headed Muslim crowd near Chattabal with Lathies in their hands. They began to throw stones and hit Lathies on the car. Four or five Mohammedans endeavoured to keep the mob back. I took the car from the road down to the motor-shed. The people followed us crying, abusing and pelting stones. But the above mentioned 4 or 5 persons gave us much assistance. I reversed the car and at last came back to the home. The back side glass of the car, one curtain and mudguard were damaged. I received a stone on my head. The Hindu servant who was on the mudguard was injured. The hand of Rai Sahib's daughter was also injured slightly.

EXHIBIT No. 58.

**Translation of Vernacular Statement of Shivdarshan, Officer Station Rainawari,
(Witness No. 43), dated 20th Sawan 1988.**

I beg to submit that on 29th Har 1988/13th July 1931 at about 2-15 p. m., Rasul Mir, Fireman No. 34 santry tower Rainawari Station No. 4, on being telephoned from the Fire-Brigade Head-quarters, informed me that Jail Guard Lines were set on fire. I, in the company of four firemen proceeded to the spot. Rasul Mir No. 34 was kept incharge of the station. As soon as we reached Kathi Darwaza near Dharamsala, innumerable Muslims obstructed our way asking "who is Hindu and who is Mohammedan?" Two Mohammedan firemen stood aside and the mob began pelting stones on us. I received many stones and I fell down. I got up and ran towards the gate of Dharamsala. No sooner I reached there, I became senseless, a Sikh took me in and gave me some milk restoring me to consciousness. Just at that time Balak Ram, Fireman arrived there. We were brought to the Rainawari Station by some scouts and from there the Superintendent Fire Brigade took us in a lorry to the State hospital, where I have been undergoing proper treatment.

EXHIBIT No. 59.

**Translation of Vernacular Statement of Balak Ram, Fireman
(Witness No. 44), dated 21st Sawan 1988.**

On 29th Har 1988/13th July 1931 at about 2-15 p. m. I started towards the Central Jail fire occurrence under the orders of Shivdarshan, Station Officer Rainawari. The Muslims had gathered in numbers at Kathi Darwaza. About three or four hundred men out of the mob attacked our party and cried that Mohammedans should stand on one side. Upon this Ahmad Shala and Sultan Khan firemen immediately stood aside and the mob began to throw stones and beat the Pandits. My head was severely wounded with stones, my breast, back and legs were crushed. I got in a window of the Dharamsala with much difficulty. I remained there for 15 minutes and after that went to the house of Arjan Singh. I saw Shivdarshan, Station Officer, there and fell down senseless. At about 4 p. m. I came to consciousness and Shivdarshan and myself were brought to the Chowki by scouts. At about 5 p. m. the Superintendent Fire Brigade came in a lorry and took both of us and Bishamber Nath fireman to the State hospital. I remained under medical treatment for about ten or twelve days.

P. S.—It is further requested that at the time of assault the Muslim mob took away my uniform, turban, leather belt and a sum of Rs. 10 which I had in my pocket for buying Shali. I got back my belt only out of the above-stolen articles.

EXHIBIT No. 60.

**Translation of Vernacular Statement of Bishamber Nath, Fireman,
(Witness No. 45), dated 21st Sawan 1988.**

On 29th Har 1988 at about 2-15 p. m. Shivdarshan, Station Officer Rainawari, asked me to accompany him to the Central Jail with other companions. We saw a huge crowd of Muslims at Kathi Darwaza. We were attacked by 3 or 4 hundred men, who cried that the Moham-medans should stand aside. They began to beat the Pandits with Lathies and shoes. I pretended to be a Mohammedan but in vain. I got severe injuries to my arms and shoulders. A big stone was directed towards my head but I received it on my left hand which was injured. In spite of all this I reached Dharamsala with much difficulty. The inner gate was closed. The mob caught hold of me and gave me severe blows. I climbed the wall of the Dharamsala garden, and entered the garden. The uniform and turban was taken away by the mob from behind, while I was ascending the wall. I jumped in the garden to take refuge there. I went in the house of a Sikh Pujari of Dharamsala. There was no male member of the house present there but about two or three female members were present. I sat by them but they started crying and would not allow me to sit by them. They said the mob might come to them as well. I asked them to provide me with a knife so that I might cut off my throat. They refused to give me the knife and said that they are born to help the Brahmans. Then I requested them to keep me hidden. Thereafter a Sikh boy name Garia Singh closed me in a cattle shed. Shortly after other two Pandits of the Telephone Department reached there. They too had been beaten by the Muslims, and had come to seek shelter. At about 4 p. m. we came out and learnt that the Muslims had been driven away by the Cavalry. I reached my Chowki in the company with a few Pandits. I found Rs. 5 missing from my pocket. A about 5 p. m. the Superintendent of Fire Brigade came at the station in a lorry. He took us (the three wounded men) to the State hospital where I was admitted and kept under treatment for five days. Now I am alright.

EXHIBIT No. 61.

**Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Kh. Saif-ud-Din, Naib-Tehsildar
(Witness No. 46) on solemn affirmation, dated 22nd Sawan 1988.**

I beg to state my personal information regarding the recent riots in Srinagar city as under:—

On 29th Har 1988/13th July 1931, I noticed at about 2-30 p. m. while in office that the public collected in the Tehsil and Wazarat office compounds, was going back to the city. One person (probably he was a Hindu, as far as I remember) came to me and asked me to postpone his case for the next date, as he wanted to go home immediately. On being asked the reason of his anxiety he stated that disturbance had taken place in the city. The Jail had been attacked and that the Maharajganj Bazar was being looted. He had hardly finished his talk, when he left. I called the orderly and learnt that the parties in the cases and the patition-writers were about to leave the Court. The Chaprasi did not disclose the real condition and I continued working, but I was anxious to learn the real facts. A short time after the Tehsil compound was left vacant. It was at about 4 p. m. when a Chaprasi from the High Court brought to me an order that there are riots in the city and that I should proceed to Ram Niwas and remain on duty there. On the receipt of the order I immediately left for Ram Niwas. I saw

Military guard near the office of the Dhramarth and Shali Stores. I further saw a person bare-headed going on cycle towards Amira Kadal and asking the people in loud voice to assemble in Juma Masjid. He had hardly gone a few paces, when the Military arrested him. I advanced quickly and reaching Ram Niwas I found the Military guard there as well. I was told by the Military officer incharge of guard that the Maharaja Bahadur was there. The Military officer prevented me from going inside. I showed to him the order, but he replied, he would not allow me to enter without the permission of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur. He took the order and went inside. He came back and allowed me to wait in a room with another Magistrate Pandit Nand Lal. Proper arrangements of Military guard had been made by that time. We began to walk about in the garden and remained on duty till midnight. The Infantry and Cavalry present in the garden were detailed to the city to restore peace. Disturbances were being reported from different places. In the evening we saw two Hindus of Amira Kadal shouting loudly that they had been looted in Maharajganj Bazar by some Muslims. They were deprived of some cash as well, and were beaten severely. We noticed simple injuries of one of them. On inquiry by Pandit Nand Lal they replied that they could not indentify the offenders. We instructed them to get themselves medically examined and find out the culprits. We did not notice anything important till 12 p. m. when we were directed by Major General Janak Singh Ji to report ourselves to the Governor. When we arrived at the Governor's Bungalow we came to know that he had gone to the city. Thereupon we left a word with the orderly and came to our houses. Pandit Sahib went away to his house in a tonga and I spent the night with a relative at Habba Kadal. I had not got any tonga and my residence was far away.

At 8 o'clock in the morning on 30th Har 1988/14th July 1931 I recalled at Governor's house but learnt that the Governor had again left for the city. Thereupon I came to the Governor's office and remained there with the Assistant Governor. In the evening I went back to my house and saw the shops closed on my way to home.

On 31st Har 1988/15th July 1931, I came to the Governor's office, and was ordered to go back and open the Court. Just at that time Lala Manohar Lal, Naib-Tehsildar, arrived with an order of my transfer to Uri. I went back to the Tehsil office and remained there during office hours. The Tehsildar and the Assistant were also present there but none of the litigants appeared that day.

On 1st Sawan 1988/16th July 1931, I was relieved by Pandit Jia Lal.

EXHIBIT No. 62.

**Written Statement of Dr. Abdul Wahid, Medical Practitioner, Srinagar
(Witness No. 47), dated 1st August 1931.**

POINTS FOR THE SPECIAL NOTICE OF THE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE.

1. Pandit Gurdial Rampal, Superintendent C. I. D. and Pt. Ram Chand Kak, B. A., reached before my Dispensary at Maharajganj at about 10 a. m. I drew their attention to the looted condition of my Dispensary, but they never paid any attention to this and went inside the Ganj.

2 In the presence of Section 144 large number of Kashmiri Pandits and Punjabi Khattris were allowed to walk about armed with Lathies, sticks, hockeys, etc.

3. Large number of people collected near Maharajganj State Dispensary and ran after my tonga shouting loudly, "Stop Tongawala, catch hold of them", "Oh Tongawala Thero, Pakro, Maro", etc.

4. A few paces onward I was actually attacked by a mob of Pandits and Punjabi Khattris armed with Lathies etc. from all sides. My tonga was stopped and they commenced beating me and my companions. The Police and Military were present and instead of rescuing me and my companions from the mob, one Policeman and one Military Sepoy joined the mob in raining blows with the butt end of their rifles and my whole body was injured by the blows. The Military officer who rescued me did not try to arrest the mob, the Police constable or the Military soldier.

5. I am told that my Dispensary at Maharajganj was looted and damaged by Punjabi Khattris on the morning of the same day (14th July 1931) in the presence of the Police and Military who were posted there for protection.

6. The Magistrate who was sitting in Bhagat Sukhdayal Amirchand's shop did not record my statement and try to arrest the mob there and then and also did not record the open threats of Bhagats Hukam Chand, Ladhe Shah, Duni Chand and Amir Chand.

7. I also drew attention of the Magistrate several times for safegaurding my tonga, pony and drug-bag which were also looted by the mob. He ordered Pt. Sudershan, Assistant Superintendent Police, to take care of the tonga, mare and drug-bag. I got the tonga after five days in damaged condition also pony less harness and bag.

8. The next day I drew attention of the Magistrate for locking my Dispensary at Maharajganj but it was never done by him.

9. My Medico examination for Medico Legal purposes was done on the fifth day and that too in an incomplete manner and no measurements of my injuries were noted down by the Doctor.

10. I was not given protection by the Police and Military (custodians of law and order) because I was a Mohammedan, Police and Military being Hindus showing that the feelings were very high against each and every Mohammedan.

The above facts show the apathy and unsympathetic attitude of the officials in case of injured and looted Muslims.

13th July 1931.

On 13th July 1931 (the day of the occurrence of the alleged riot) I worked as usual in the morning at my Maharajganj Dispensary till 10 a. m. and after that in my Amira Kadal Dispensary till 12-30 p. m. Then I went to my house for Lunch and rest and remained there till 2-30 p. m. At about 2 p. m. I was called by a servant from Malik Sher Mohammed, who gave me message of Mrs. Thakur Das, Diplomed Nurse, of Nawa Bazar, that she will be coming at Malik Sher Mohammed's at 6 p. m. and also wants me to visit Malik Sahib.

At about 2-30 when I was going out my son Abdul Hameed told me that probably some disturbance has occurred at Jail as lorries loaded with armed Police were going that side. I came to my dispensary at Amira Kadal, and worked there for a few minutes, and started for Chinar Bagh on my tonga to visit a patient in house boat behind Nedo Hotel. On my way, just near the middle of Pratap Park, and apposite Mission Hostel Ground, I met Pandit Ram Rattan, Wazir of Poonch and his son who were in car, they stopped their car, and got down. We talked together, for some minutes, when Colonel Gandharb Singh, Inspector General Police also came in his car, and stopped there. We all talked for another few minutes. Pandit Ram Rattan enquired about the situation and occurrence, from the

Colonel, who replied, that looting has been reported at Maharajganj and not fire. Colonel then went on his car and after a talk for few minutes more with Pandit Sahib, I went on tonga towards Chinar Bagh, to see Mrs. Hyder Ali, wife of Doctor Hyder Ali of Patna University. At about 5 p. m. I came towards the office of Director General of Agriculture and Co-operative Societies, to take my son Abdul Majeed with me. I could not find him as he had gone, but was met with Dr. Raffi-ud-Din, Superintendent Veterinary Department and gave him a lift to Amira Kadal Dispensary. I then went to the house of Sardar Lachman Singh, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, and remained there till 6 p. m., and came back to Amira Kadal with him. As the bazar was closed I came to my house for a few minutes and then went to Malik Sher Mohammed, Revenue Secretary's house, to see his daughter who was sick. At about 7 p. m. I went in the House Boat of K. S. Mir Hussain Shah, Wazir Wazarat, to see him but as he was out, I could not see him and left my card with his servant. I then went on the bund towards Abi Guzar. In the way just near the High Court I met Professor Gupta of S. P. College and Mr. Bishamber Dass late of Sericulture Department and L. Diwan Chand of Mercantile Press Lahore, and talked with them for a few minutes. Then I went in the House Boat of B. Abdul Qadir, Overseer Palace Division, Jammu, and remained there till about 8-30 p. m. after that I came back to my house.

14th July 1931.

On 14th July 1931, I went to see a Chinese patient near Peston Jee's behind the Pande's Building. On reaching Amira Kadal Dispensary, I found K. B. Aga Syed Hussain's servant waiting for me. He gave me message on Khan Bahadur's behalf that one of his relative is lying sick at Fateh Kadal and wanted me to examine her. I asked the servant about the safety of the route to patient's house. On being assured that there was no danger in going upto the house of patient, I started in my tonga together with him and another servant of Ahmad Ali Shah, Forest Ranger, the father of the patient. After visiting the patient, I went to have a look at my dispensary at Maharajganj. On my arrival there I found all the almirahs of my dispensary broken up, and the jars and bottles broken to pieces, the dispensary presented a desolate sight, completely ruined by the mob. While I was standing there Pandit R. C. Kak, and Pandit Gurdial Rampal, Superintendent C. I. D. came there; I drew their attention to the desolate condition of my dispensary, but they paid no heed. I did not therefore think it proper to stay there any longer, and with the lady patient's servant and servant of Aga Syed Hussain who were still with me in my tonga I began to return to Amira Kadal. My tonga had gone a few paces when all of a sudden mob of Kashmiri Pandits and Punjabi Khatris ran after my tonga shouting loudly "O Tongawala Thero, Pakro, Maro, etc.", I asked the driver of tonga to make haste but after the tonga had moved on a few paces the mob seized the reigns of my tonga horse and showered their Lathies on me and occupants of my tonga. Among the assailants there was one Police constable and one Military soldier who struck me with the butt ends of their rifles. In the meantime the tonga was disharnessed, and the beating was continued. This all happened in the presence of Police and Military posted there. I was certain to lose my life but for the assistance of a Military officer (Col. Jogindra Singh) who came to my rescue. So far as his rescuing me is concerned I am much thankful to him but he never tried to disperse and disarm the assailants and did not try to arrest the Police constable and the Military soldier who joined the mob in beating. But before the Colonel came there the mob had inflicted injuries all over my body, legs and arms.

The Colonel then took me to the Additional District Magistrate who was sitting in Bhagat Sukhdayal Amir Chand's shop; there I narrated the whole story to the A. D. M. and Pt. Nand Lal Sahib but the A. D. M. did not record my statement. At that time Bhagat Hukam Chand, Ladhe Shah, Duni Chand and Amir Chand began to address me in most threatening attitude in the presence of the Additional District Magistrate

accusing me of having incited the people yesterday (13th July 1931) to set fire and loot the Hindu shops and that the treatment I had received at the hands of the mob was deserved; I brought this fact to the special notice of the Additional District Magistrate. I also drew the attention of the Additional District Magistrate several times for safe-guarding my tonga, horse and drug-bag, which were also looted by the mob. He ordered Pt. Sudershan, Assistant Superintendent Police, to take care of the tonga. As I was in great pains due to the injuries inflicted on my body and felt sinking I requested the A. D. M. to arrange my sending to the hospital which he very kindly did and arranged a lorry for me whence I was carried to Amira Kadal under Police escort. From Amira Kadal I was carried in my own car to the Mission Hospital accompanied by L. Karm Chand, Inspector Post Offices and Raja Abbas Ali Khan, Superintendent Accountant General's office, whom I picked up on the way to hospital. I was taken to the hospital consultation room in a carrying chair by Dr. Dina Nath who gave me stimulants. He examined me and dressing my wounds he set my left arm putting a splint and bandaged. I was given three or four doses of the Stimulant Mixture as my pulse had become too weak and irregular at times. I was unconscious for about three hours. When I came to consciousness I asked to be taken to my house at Amira Kadal, where I was laid on bed. After sometime I told my sons to send written informations to the District Magistrate and to the Deputy Inspector General of Police regarding the incident which they did.

15th July 1931.

Reports of the incident were sent to Foreign and Political Minister, and to the Personal Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur, by me. I also reported to the District Magistrate for safe-guarding the remaining things of my looted dispensary at Maharajganj, by sending him a written request.

16th July 1931.

On the third day of my incident (16th July 1931) one Police constable came to note down my statement, it took him five hours to record the statement in Urdu. I was much fatigued.

17th July 1931.

In the morning due to my injuries and yesterday's fatigue, my pulse became too weak and I was unconscious, Dr. Bhalla was called, who injected me something and gave some medicines, I was unconscious till 7 p. m. Dr. Vosper of Mission Hospital also attended me.

My medical examination for Medico Legal purposes was done on the fifth day of the incident and that too in an incomplete way, as the measurement of the injuries were not noted down by the doctor.

I received my tonga and horse on the fifth day in damaged condition. The harness and many other things were missing. A receipt was given to the Police Head-constable who brought the tonga, and report was given to the Police regarding the receiving of horse which was brought by Pt. Tika Lal our Compounder. I have not received any information regarding my drug-bag.

EXHIBIT No. 90.

Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Dr. Abdul Wahid (Witness No. 47).

In the early days of my coming to this place the relations between Hindus and Muslims were cordial. By the spread of education there came a change. It is possible that the reason for this change was the monopoly

of services enjoyed by one community *i. e.* Hindus. By the spread of education among the Muslims the Hindus whose sole profession from the beginning was State service, became suspicious of them and began to fear interference by the Muslims. The Muslims, who had always remained subservient, felt the prosperity of the other community and struggled for better education. It was natural to demand a share in the services. As the desired end could not be achieved the leaders of the community made efforts for the spread of the education. Consequently an Islamia School was started to impart modern education to the Muslims.

In 1913 Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Bar-at Law, who was connected with our brethren Indian Muslims and their educational institution Aligarh visited this place. He used to take interest in the Muslim education and therefore he saw with his own eyes the educational conditions of the Muslims of Kashmir. He felt want of education among Muslims and discussed this matter with the State authorities. After this Mr. Sharp came to this place on behalf of the Government of India to inspect the educational institutions of this place, and to study the condition of Mohammedan education. He submitted a report and action was taken on his recommendations by the State authorities. His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur also began to devise means for the education of the subjects and thus it spread gradually. The Hindus might have noticed the interest taken by the Muslims community with suspicion, thinking that if a sufficient number of Muslims are benefitted by education, they will, on the strength of their being hereditary State subject, demand a share in the services. In my opinion this is the only cause of estrangement which can be judged from the events that followed. The Hindu Press and particularly the Akhbar-i-Am Lahore gave an impetus to this estrangement of relations and took great part in exciting Hindu feelings. This paper began to take the side of Hindus without any reason and whatever happened in Kashmir was given a communal colour to excite communal hatred. For instance I state below some account of the Silk Factory riot of 1924. Being in touch with the conditions of this place I was appointed a member of the Silk Factory Enquiry Committee and therefore I am in a position to throw a good deal of light on those facts. For a long time the Silk Factory labourers had some grievances with regard to corruption and which were enquired into and partly remedied. In addition to the insufficiency of wages, the tyranny of the inspecting staff was most unbearable. The staff consisted of Hindus and the labourers were not in a condition to bear their tyrannies. Repression went on in spite of their submitting of the applications for the redress of their wrongs. Their leaders were arrested. The Silk Factory labourers after gathering peacefully demanded the release of their leaders. On demanding release Pt. Anant Ram, Governor (now Commissioner Settlement) declared the assembly unlawful and ordered dispersal. On their not complying with this order the dispersal was ordered without firing. P. Anant Ram, Governor, thinking that these may not be disturbances in the city invited some respectable Muslims, Silk Factory Officers and Police Officers to enquire into the causes of disturbances in the Silk factory. I was also one of those who were invited. On my enquiring the cause of the meeting the Governor informed me that it is necessary to check the spreading of the rumours. I requested the Governor to let us know first the real causes of the Silk Factory disturbances as also the rumours set afloat in the city. Thereupon he requested Mr. Nagarkatti, Director Commerce and Industries, in charge of Silk Factory to throw light on the causes of the disturbances. Mr. Nagarkatti admitted that labourers had submitted several applications regarding the insufficiency of their wages and the tyranny to which they were subjected. He also told us that the labourers were afraid of reduction in view of the fact that some machines on the Italian system were going to be put in the factory. This was also the cause of some misunderstanding. According to Mr. Nagarkatti it was contemplated to provide the reduced labourers. On my enquiring it, this misunderstanding was removed.

I told the Governor that the matter concerns the Silk Factory labourers only and the public has nothing to do with it and to this view the other members agreed. I enquired as to the rumours which were given currency to and the names of their authors. The answer was that one is to the effect that some persons have been killed and the other is that the city will be looted. As to the first he informed us that there has been no death but a few casualties. On hearing this I submitted to the Governor that it appears that Muslims alone were responsible for the spread of such baseless rumours which in reality were wrong. I quoted an instance of my compounder Tika Lal who wanted permission to go away stating that the Muslims intended to plunder the city. On my enquiring the name of his informer the compounder told me that all the compounders of the Mission Hospital had gone on leave on the strength of this rumour. My object in stating this is that even at that time when the question involved related to Silk Factory labourers it was given a communal colour and Muslims were defamed. I told P. Anant Ram not to accuse the Muslims without any reason. I suggested that a few respectable Hindus may also be invited for joint deliberations so that the situation may be controlled. He agreed to this and a second meeting was accordingly convened and the whole matter ended. Even on that occasion the Muslims were considered rebels by the Hindu newspapers. The joint efforts of the authorities and Muslims frustrated their designs. The legitimate grievances of the Silk Factory labourers were considered by the authorities and consequently a settlement was arrived at. The Hindu papers tried to give communal colour to all this but they could not succeed.

The result of the happenings in the Silk Factory was that the Hindus were encouraged and the Muslims came to the conclusion that these rumours were given currency to in the papers in order to defame and disgrace them. They did this because all officials were Hindus and those who were not could easily be persuaded to do anything they pleased. Then came the Baramulla and Anantnag disturbances.

(1) *Baramulla*.—As far as I remember immediately after this the Hindus forcibly took possession of some of the Government land near the Dharamsala at Baramulla. So far as I remember the case was decided in favour of Hindus and the matter ended without any further investigation.

(2) *Anantnag*.—There was a stony platform near a fountain on which Musalmans used to say prayers and to which some extension was made by them. On this the local officers of that place made lengthy reports against the Muslims on the strength of which Pandit Anant Ram Governor, went for the inspection of the spot. He directed some respectable Muslims to demolish the extended portion of the platform but they insisted to retain it. Subsequently different sort of rumours were set afloat against the Musalmans while nothing was said by the Government on the happening of a similar event at Baramulla. The Government resorted to repression in case of Anantnag only because the party concerned was Muslim.

In addition to the Governor, K. B. Choudhri Khushi Mohammed (probably C. and L. Member at that time) was also deputed for the settlement of this matter but he too could not succeed. The Government then despatched armed Police and Military for such an ordinary affair *i. e.* to demolish the extended portion of platform by force. At that time I had gone to see K. B. Choudhri Khushi Mohammed by chance and seeing him in an excited state of mind enquired the reason about the change. He narrated to me the Anantnag incident and told me that in case the Muslims do not demolish the platform firing will be resorted to. In the meanwhile the Governor also reached there and asked my views. I explained to them that it is a very ordinary thing and instead of resorting to repression and violence the policy of

conciliation will be advantageous. I accordingly proposed that the Anantnag people who insisted on saying prayers on the extended portion of the platform should be explained through a religious preacher that according to *Shariat* it is not proper to say prayers in a place which has not been purchased or lawfully acquired. On this advice of mine they sent for a religious leader through M. Abdulla Vakil and consequently this leader was instrumental in removing this difficulty subject to certain conditions. But it is regretted that those conditions were never fulfilled. It was also one of the conditions that this plot of land will be given to Muslims on their submitting an application to this effect. But this was not given. My object in stating these facts is that the papers and the Government can even in ordinary matters go to the extremes against the Muslims, but not in case of Hindus. It is natural and just possible that suspicions should arise in the minds of Muslims in view of the treatment meted out to them. The Punjab Hindu papers, after these events tried to prove Muslims as rebels and conspirators as will be seen from the files of these papers. In these days an article was published in the *Akhbar-i-Am* intended to incite the Kashmir Hindus. "Rise up Hindus with pickaxe", "Destroy and demolish the shrine of Shah Hamdan". Such inflammatory articles were the cause of disturbance at Shah Hamdan. Hindus exceeded the limits. They not only began a permanent construction of the Mahakali temple on the bank of river but damaged the Shrine of Shah Hamdan. In this matter some Hindu Police officers took extraordinary interest against the Muslims and submitted a wrong report regarding this affair. The matter was decided soon and as the Pandits could not prove their right to construct the temple they were stopped to proceed with the construction. This case was also a cause of suspicion by the Hindus. By the repetition of these incidents the Muslims began to think that they are being suppressed in every matter because the officers of the State were Hindus. It was quite natural. Had they been represented in the services their grievances would have been heard. As these incidents took place one after another and a sufficient number of educated Muslims was available, the disproportionate share in the services was considered to be another cause of the trouble. They wrote down some of their demands after natural consultation. At that time the Viceroy the Head of the Paramount Power in India visited Kashmir. A copy of these demands was submitted to him. Instead of taking any action upon their representation those persons who were all notables of the valley consisting of Mir Waiz Abdulla, Mir Waiz Hamdani, M. Shariff-ud-Din, the Grand Mufti, K. Saad-ud-Din Shawl, S. Hussan Shah Jalali and Kh. Hassan Shah Naqashbandi were taken to task. The most important demand of these was for a share in the services. The Kashmir Hindus who held a monopoly of services resented this. This was also one of the causes of the estrangement. The Memorandum did not serve the useful purpose and its signatories were put to trouble. Kh. Hussan Shah Shawl who was the Secretary of that group was deported and the Jagir of Khawaja Hassan Shah Naqashbandi was confiscated. Similar treatment was meted out to others. This was also a cause of suspicion.

In 1922 the question of Punjabis and Kashmiris was taken up with great vigour. The authors were Pandit professors and Pandit students. First of all the College students began to write libellous words against the Punjabis on the black-boards *i. e.* "Down with the Punjabis". After this began the disturbances in the College and Schools. The Government was impressed by these events and in view of this a Committee was appointed to devise a definition of 'State Subjects'. A few Hindus and Muslims were examined and the term was defined. Consequently the non-State subjects were debarred from entering the State service. Before this the people of this State used to live amicably and transact business peacefully. The new definition proved useful for the State subjects and the Musalmans also welcomed it. Considering that it will

also safeguard their rights. But the facts proved that their desire was never fulfilled. They were ignored in this respect first as they were ignored previously. This also injured the feelings of the Muslims. The lack of care on the part of the Government in this behalf excited the sympathies of the Punjab Muslim Press towards their co-religionists in this State. The Muslim Kashmiri Conference which consists of Kashmiris whose ancestors migrated to the Punjab, took a keen interest in the grievances of their co-religionists of the motherland. I am of opinion that the Hindu Press calls it disturbances a conspiracy on account of the interest taken by the Kashmiri Muslims Conference. The Conference passes resolutions regarding the Kashmiri Muslims every year. They are sent to the Government. Certain mosques and religious places of Muslims are in the possession of the Government, and no effort has been made to get them back. As the time went on the Muslims on account of spread of education began to realize the injustice. They applied for the redress. But those places are still in the possession of the Government. This can also be a cause of the unrest. The religious places of Hindus are in their own possession and control and a special Department *i. e.* Dharamarth exists for their management. The corruption and bribery were prevalent and masses which consisted mostly of Muslims were experiencing great trouble at the hands of officers who were mostly non-Muslims. The people had to go out to earn money for the unlawful demands of these officers. At first the burden was being borne with great patience but in the long run the masses began to feel it.

Accession to throne by the present His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur.

In 1925 His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur Sir Harisingh Bahadur came to the *gadi*. As His Highness was a youngman of broad views he at the outset declared that his religion is justice and this caused a great satisfaction to his subjects, and especially the Muslims. From the time of His Highness coming to *gadi* he acted up to those words and began to rule with even-handed justice. Whatever useful was brought to the notice of His Highness he gave his best consideration, for instance the following are the useful measures sanctioned by His Highness :—

1. Agriculturists Relief Regulation.
2. Education.
3. Infant Marriage Regulation.
4. Compulsory Education.
5. Abolition of *Begar*.
6. Juvenile Smoking Regulation.

By these measures the public has benefitted greatly. In addition to this His Highness issued strict orders for checking the corruption which was rampant in the State departments.

The cause of present unrest among the Muslims.

The Maharaja Bahadur made efforts to ameliorate the conditions of his subjects but unfortunately instead of State subjects and non-State subjects the question of Dogras and Kashmiris came to the forefront. They lost mutual confidence and good will. The spirit of co-operation and trust gave way to intrigue and corruption. The illustration of the Co-operative Department and the consequent appointment of a Commission of Ministers for investigation can illustrate this point in a befitting manner.

His Highness has always been anxious in obtaining the services of best men. It is for this reason that His Highness selected Sir Albion Banerji to appoint him as Prime Minister. Sir Albion Banerji after a

period of 2 years' service realized that contrary to his expectations all his proposals had not met with the approval of the Government. This necessitated his resignation.

Before leaving however he gave an interview to a representative of Associated Press which was subsequently published in papers. Extracts of which I can produce. The authenticity of these statements cannot be doubted. Most of these relate to the poverty stricken condition of Muslim subjects of His Highness. The injustice that is being done to them is also evident. Attempts were made by the Government to contradict these statements but in vain. Both Muslim and Hindu papers discussed them at length. Accordingly Mr. Wattal, the then Minister-in-Waiting, held negotiations with the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir and it was decided that they should combine to submit a memorial of grievances to His Highness for consideration. Accordingly a number of important men, among whom may be counted General Samander Khan, Colonel Gulam Ali Shah Sahib, Mirza Ghulam Mustafa and others, submitted a memorial to His Highness as advised. No action was taken on this memorial for a considerable time. About this time Hindu papers of the Punjab started a campaign of vilification against the Muslims and their demands and succeeded in poisoning the peaceful atmosphere. This gave point to the grievances of the Muslims all the more.

Muslims were annoyed by another incident. It was about this time that a Military College was established for Hindus Rajputs. No consideration was shown to Muslims who belong to the Military class and who had rendered glorious services to the Government. This gave rise to discontent among Mohammedan subjects of Jammu.

Thereupon Y. M. M. A. of Jammu took up this matter. This Association has been rendering excellent services to the Government and the State subject Muslims in particular. This fact gives lie to the baseless allegations brought against the Association. In that it has been all along depending for advice and support on the outside agencies.

It was during these very days that Jammu was made the Head-quarter of the Jammu and Kashmir Government instead of Kashmir, probably with a view to effect savings. The Pandits, however interpreted it that it was a step to oust them from Government service and make room for Dogras. The Panjabi Hindu Press carried on a propaganda against the measure, to such a length that the Jammu and Kashmir Government was compelled to yield and cancel orders regarding the change of Head-quarters from Srinagar to Jammu.

About this time also it happened that a number of clerical posts fell vacant in the office of the Srinagar Municipal Committee. As there were no Mohammedan employees in the Municipal office, Mr. Wakefield, the then Minister-in-charge of Municipalities, seeing the unsatisfactory state of affairs with a view to bring in a certain proportion of Mohammedans in service, ordered the President of the Municipal Committee to enlist only Mohammedans for the above-mentioned posts. The President Municipality having published it in Hindu papers that none except Mohammedans need apply for the posts. No sooner it was out an intensive and extensive propaganda was started by Hindus against Mr. Wakefield. Pandits in particular whom it affected most went so far that they threatened the Ruler of the State to change their religion, if the job was to go by religious consideration only. The result of the propaganda headed by Hindu leaders that the above notification was withdrawn. This gave tremendous encouragements to the Pandit community. It may however be mentioned here that these clerical posts carried pays of Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 and in the eight wards the Hindu officers were appointed.

As there was no Muslim paper in the State to voice the grievances of Muslims, the matter was taken up by outside Muslim papers, such as, the Muslim Outlook, the Inqilab, the Siasat. The very low percentage of Mohammedan employees is evident from the State civil list. This was pointed out in the papers and Ministers responsible for this state of affairs were severely criticized. It is surprising that instead of giving a reply to their criticisms, the entry of the above mentioned papers in the State was stopped. The Muslims inferred from this that their voice is inaudible both from inside and outside the State. This also inflamed the feelings of Muslims to a large extent. This act of theirs cannot be ascribed to a conspiracy as can be alleged by others. It is obvious that the bare fact that a subject attempts to bring his grievances to the notice of the Ruler, cannot be counted as a conspiracy. These papers criticised the State officials but never attacked the character or personality of the Ruler.

The Hindu papers of the Punjab took up the self-imposed responsibility of discussing the matter pertaining to a native Ruler and his subjects. They laid the foundations of trouble by mis-representing the case. They also inflamed the feelings of the Hindu subjects of the State by their writings. Sometime they called the Muslims as evilwishes of the State and sometimes as conspirators. It was the clear duty of the Government to stop entrance into the State of such biased and inflammatory papers, as was done in the case of Muslim papers. No warning was issued to them. They went on unrestricted. Among these papers may be mentioned one in particular, I mean the "Akhbar Am" which is printed and published at Lahore and commands a wide circulation among the Kashmiri Pandits. The paper always leads in all these matters. Besides this, there are others such as the 'Ranbir', the 'Amar', the 'Milap', the 'Pratap' etc. which affect Jammu area. If proper steps had been taken in time to put restraint on these papers, things should not have come to such a pass as at present. The allegation put forward by these papers, the Muslims have arranged themselves against the personality of the Ruler is entirely baseless, and mischievous. In this connection I recollect that during the reign of His late Highness the present Maharaja was a Senior Member. He sustained a serious injury in his ankle at Gulmarg. The Muslim subjects devotedly prayed for his speedy recovery in all the mosques and holy places. Out of many prayers that were said, I will remember the following verse:—

"We pray to Almighty that He may by His Grace spare Harisingh Sahib for eternity".

When the present Maharaja ascended the throne, Mohammedans took prominent part in the celebrations. It is too well known to need any mention. Similarly did they rejoice at the time of his marriage and the auspicious birth of Rajkumar.

This is a mere diversion and intended to show that the allegations stated above are far from being true. I now come again to the various causes of the present unrest.

Recently a very unfortunate incident occurred in Jammu. It being a religious question Mohammedans were naturally annoyed. I mean to refer to the stoppage of the recital of *Khutba* at the time of Id and the defilement of Quran-i-Majid.

The fact was brought to the notice of the Government and Mr. Wakefield, Foreign and Political Minister, was deputed to enquire into the matter. To a large extent he succeeded in bringing about communal peace and amity. The Mohammedans were not however satisfied with the judgment delivered in the case in as much as the Mohammedan constable was dismissed from service while the Hindu constable was merely retired on pension after a fairly long service.

Besides these complaints, the Muslims of Jammu submitted other grievances also to Mr. Wakefield whereupon he advised them to select their representatives to submit their grievances to the Government. It was therefore that Mohammedans selected their representatives for the purpose.

This gave another chance to the Hindu papers to freely write against the Muslims and their activities. Every attempt was made to prove the Muslims as evil-wishers of the State.

All these occurrences combined to rouse the Kashmiri Muslims who also started holding of meetings and taking out of processions in this connection.

At this time the Jammu representatives were advised by the Government to join Kashmir Muslims and select joint representatives. This further inflamed the Hindu Press which started a fresh campaign of vilification against the Muslims. They made His Highness to believe that to submit to Muslims demands was derogatory to the interests of the State. The Hindu Press desired that the grievances of the Muslims apart from being sanctioned, may not even be heard. About this time unfortunately a Pandit girl was kidnapped from Kani Kadal and subsequently her dead body was recovered from the newly constructed lane near about her residence. The feelings of the local Hindus were already against Muslims, they seized the opportunity to arouse the Hindu population. The Sanatan Dharam Sabha and other Hindu Associations went so far, as to lay the blame of this offence on Mohammedans who were described as the perpetrators of this heinous crime. This case is still under investigation and no clue has been found of the culprit, nor was the cause of murder ascertained. The Government announced a prize of Rs. 500 for the clue of the offender. The Muslim leaders, however, denounced this occurrence, and expressed strong condemnation in unequivocal terms. The truth is that the crime is of such a nature that no human being can feel any sympathy for the culprits.

After the post-mortem the Kashmiri Pandit youngmen intended taking out a procession, to the cremating place. The Police chalked out a route for them. The idea was to avoid disturbances. The Hindu youngmen opposed the Police and the manner in which they attempted to break the law is too well known to the Commission. The Police was compelled to make a Lathi charge to disperse the crowd and did not make use of rifles.

Subsequently some miscreant defiled certain pages of Quran Shariff by throwing them in a latrine and this too aroused the feelings of Mohammedans.

At the instance of the Government the Jammu representatives entered the city of Srinagar peacefully. They obeyed the State authorities in not taking out a procession at the time of their arrival. Even the crowd that had assembled to welcome them dispersed in a peaceful manner. The representatives went to their respective house-boats avoiding demonstration of people in the bazars. It may also be inferred from the above that the Mohammedans are not unruly but they are law-abiding. The spirit of law breaking evinced by the Hindu crowd described above was conspicuous by its absence in the Muslims. It may be observed here that the Hindus do not mind either the Government or the law. For instance on Gandhi Day *i. e.*, when M. Gandhi was arrested the college students took out a procession and disturbed the peaceful atmosphere of the country by doing this. The procession constituted mostly of students who were sons of State officials but no notice was taken by the Government. In Jammu also on that occasion the mob did assemble to break law, but no action was taken against them.

The causes of the recent disturbances are as follows :—

The Mohammedans as has been stated above, selected their representatives in the presence of the District Magistrate while the election was going on, it is stated one Abdul Qadeer delivered a lecture. He was highly incensed by the incidents of defilement of Quran and prohibition of the recital of *khutba*. His speech was taken to be seditious by the Government. He was arrested and prosecuted. When the prosecution proceedings were going on Muslim crowd would assemble in the Court premises and make peaceful demonstrations as is customary in British India. The C. I. D. reported falsely that there was every danger to public peace and tranquility. Accordingly it was ordered that the case against Abdul Qadeer be heard in Jail. Possibly I am of opinion that it was a false step to act upon. The Jail being in the heart of the city, it was not safe to hold the court in such a populated place of Mohammedans. It would have been better if the proceedings were continued in the Court. It appears that the ignorant Mohammedans were given to understand that Abdul Qadeer was going to be sentenced that day, therefore they collected there.

During these days the Hindu Press openly accused the conspiracy formed by the Mohammedans. No action was taken to stop their activities. They succeeded to a large extent in inflaming the Hindu population against Muslims.

The result of the propaganda carried on by the Hindu Press was that the Government also was prejudiced towards the Mohammedans. Accordingly sections of law relating to unlawful assemblies were set in motion and in pursuance of these, even holy places, were considered as public places. A mosque was not excluded from public places, it was natural for Mohammedans to fear interference with their religious places. In my opinion, the proper course for the Government would have been to arrest persons guilty of delivering seditious speeches as was done in the case of Abdul Qadeer. The sections of law pertaining to unlawful assemblies should not have been brought in operation. This added fuel to fire. It was about the time when Muslim representatives were engaged in shaping and drafting their grievances that a public proclamation was made in the Exhibition ground which hoodwinked the issue and highly disappointed the Muslims. The Hindu population, however, carried on its campaign unchecked.

Under these circumstances, I would ask whether the facts that a conspiracy about looting of Hindu population and subversion of Government as is described by different papers existed?

In my opinion it is a case unsupported by facts. It is a mischievous propaganda of the Hindu Press. If it were a deliberate conspiracy, why did not the Government trace it out before?

Had it been a deliberate conspiracy to loot and massacre Hindus it is obvious that the overwhelming Muslim population would have all atonce swallowed up the minority community of Hindus. Besides, conspiracy should have simultaneously manifested itself in various parts of the Valley such as Anantnag, Baramulla etc. But the facts were strongly against the supposition. The trouble occurred in Srinagar and even that would not have occurred, if the feelings of the Muslims could not had been inflamed by opening fire at the Jail. There were no disturbances in the rural area which the population is most Mohammedans.

The city disturbances were due to the excitement created by the non-fulfillment of the Muslims' demands. The Government was prejudiced against the Muslims and tried to find faults with them. His Highness or his Government, could give his best consideration to those demands. By my 30 years experience in Kashmir and by studying the above facts I came to the conclusion that the present riot is not the outcome of

deliberate conspiracy. The chief cause is the long standing grievances of the Muslims, which accumulated as time went on and gathered force. The Muslims do not want to trouble any one. What they want is justice and even now they hope that nothing but justice will be done to them. It is fervently hoped that His Highness will try to forget all these feelings which have been created against the Muslim subjects with a view to restore communal peace and harmony in the State.

I have neither mis-stated nor exaggerated the above facts, as has been done by various Hindu witnesses who deposed before the Commission. I mean, I have not attempted to help one community by concealing facts without justification. I am not an eye witness of the occurrences at the Jail and so cannot state them. The statements made by the official as well as un-official witnesses before the Commission, however, go to show that whatever happened at the Jail may be safely ascribed to the unnecessary promptitude and hurry and inexperience of some officers. If previous notice had been given to the crowd, before the opening of the fire or some other method would have been adopted in dispersing the crowd the occurrences which were a sequel to the Jail incident would not have happened. The Muslim population should have been spared the harrassment and maltreatment which it received from the Hindus and the mistrust should have been absent.

As regards measures which may restore the communal peace I have already traced this trouble to its origin. Muslim demands are the origin I strongly feel that a policy of procrastination cannot help the Government if it is really anxious to bring about communal amity. The demands of the Muslims should be taken up immediately and attempt should be made to concede all reasonable demands.

Further the Hindu population whose feelings have been roused very high by press and platform, should be asked to live peacefully with sister community. They should not grudge Mohammedans' desire for service. They form the majority of the population and have a right as much as they, if not more. As for the Ministers responsible to His Highness I would tell them to give up personal motives and grudges and work with co-operation for the benefit of the subjects. The Ruler has been kept in dark regarding the happening in the city. As for the Government it should consider its primary duty to rid the country of the economic depression for instance by establishing factories. They should combat poverty and unemployment. I am strongly of opinion, that if the condition of the people is improved by the establishment of factories etc. the struggle for service will be put an end to a considerable extent. The Government should further treat each community equally. It is also hoped the religion of justice will be adhered to by the Ruler who will graciously pay heed to the religious sentiments of the Muslims, and give up his hold on all religious places.

The Hindu papers may be proscribed in toto. I would further suggest as a measure for restoration of communal peace and amity, that a Conciliating Board of citizens be formed with a view to enquire into the causes of the present unrest and suggest measures which may be adopted to stop recurrence of similar troubles in future.

It may not be out of place to mention that the officers responsible for the mismanagement and tactless handling of affairs, should be prosecuted and punished.

In the end, I crave indulgence of the Members of the Commission for my taking so much of their precious time. I close by repeating that so far as Mohammedans are concerned the present riots are not a result of any deliberate conspiracy against the Government or the Hindus.

Statesman Wednesday 19th August 1931, page 11.

KASHMIR MUSLIM'S DISABILITIES.

OFFICIALS CRITICIZED.

From our Special Representative.

Simla August 18.

The obvious defects of the Muslim agitation concerning the administration of Kashmir and Jammu State have laid it open to serious criticism, chiefly by those Hindu Congress Papers which are most enamoured of exactly similar agitation when it is directed against the British Raj.

Hence it may be of interest to recall what Sir Albion Banerjee said on the same subject just after he had vacated the office of Foreign and Political Secretary to the Kashmir Government in March 1929.

In an interview then given to the Associated Press (and reported in the Hindustan Times) Sir Albion said that Jammu and Kashmir State was labouring under many disadvantages with a very large Mohammedan population, absolutely illiterate, living in poverty and very low economic conditions. They were governed he said like dumb cattle. "There is no touch between the Government and the people, no suitable opportunity for representing grievances and the administrative machinery itself requires overhauling from top to bottom to bring it up to modern conditions and efficiency. It has at present little or no sympathy for peoples' wants and grievances.

Intellectual Classes.

The intellectual classes represented by the Pandits are also in a sense depressed classes because they get no opportunity of rising either in Government service or in fields of useful activity, such as Industry or Commerce with the result that they also are discontented. In regard to the press it is practically non-existent with the result that the Government is not benefitted to the extent that it should be by the impact of healthy criticism on its action and policies.

There is hardly any public opinion in the State. In regard to the Press it is practically non-existent with the result that the Government is not benefitted to the extent that it should be by the impact of healthy criticism on its actions and policies.

The political status of Kashmir is in many respects chiefly due to its geographical position one of great importance because it abuts on three empires. But the State can not rise to its full height and realise all the possibilities that nature has endowed it with unless there is greater co-operation between the Government and the people and unless the British Government also sympathetically considers all the legitimate demands of the State for greater autonomy in internal administration which at present it does not possess to the extent that is enjoyed by many other States of lesser importance and status.

Kashmiri Artisans.

In the villages of the State, Sir Albion added there was no continuity of occupation and even bare subsistence was denied under the existing conditions which had driven people to seek the livelihood elsewhere. The Kashmir artisan was well known throughout the world for the excellent quality of his workmanship, but unfortunately in recent years the quality was steadily deteriorating and something should be done by the State to help the artisans as had been done in the Mysore State".

EXHIBIT No. 63.

**Translation of Vernacular Statement of Mahadev Ram (Witness No. 48),
dated 30th Sawan 1988.**

Pandit Mahadev Ram Chrangu son of Pandit Nath Ram Chrangu an employee of the Kashmir Valley Food Control, gives his statement regarding the recent events as under :—

My office room is quite close to the main road leading to Shahidganj Mohalla. It was about 2-30 p. m. when two bare-headed Mohammedans passed by that road in a tonga asking the Muslim shop-keepers to close their shops, and that the Policemen had fired upon thousands of Muslims outside the Jail. Upon this the shop-keepers closed their shops at once and a noise was heard on the road. At about 3-30 p. m. about one hundred Cavalry men passed by that way. I was extremely terrified. I saw crowds of people shouting that "loot had started in the city". Other clerks in the room also heard the same. We consulted each other and asked our officer on phone to grant us leave, which was granted.

Being relieved from the office I in company of the other clerks crossed the Kani Kadal *via* Gulab-bagh Bund and reached the left side of Habba Kadal, where I saw all the shops closed and Mohammedans abusing and cursing the Hindus. Some were holding meetings and some were running hither and thither bare-headed. Two Mohammedans aged about 30 years were noticed instigating the people to assemble in the Juma Masjid. I saw a huge crowd of the Mohammedans gathered there. Just close to the crowd were standing some Kashmiri Pandits, one Sikh and Punjabi having white spots on his body. A Police constable whose number was probably 490 was also there. He was saying angrily that he was not responsible to catch hold of the robbers. On hearing this I desired to ascertain the real situation. I saw a heap of clothes consisting of silk turbans and silk cut pieces etc. with a dirty and rotten *phiran* (a loose garment worn by Kashmiris) lying in front of the crowd. The property was recovered from two Muslim Goondas who were taking it away under their *phirans*. They had left the *phirans* as well. The culprits ran away because they were freed by hundreds of Muslims who fell upon the Hindus and got the culprits released. A Sikh was preparing list of the clothes I asked him "why did you not try to arrest the looters with the help of the Policeman standing by". He replied "the Policeman was a Mohammedan, he intentionally avoided arresting them". The list was ready by that time and we came to Sher Garhi Police station with the clothes. A fresh list was prepared in the Police station which bears his signature. Another person Rahmat, a resident of Skardu was also brought there with a piece of cloth in his hand by two constables. Stones were being thrown upon the Hindus in Maisuma Bazar. I took my way to the River Bund. I heard Dr. Abdul Wahid talking with ten or twenty people. On seeing me they kept silent. A little further I saw a crowd of Kashmiri Muslim women sitting together and cursing His Highness and the Hindus. This crowd tried to attack me but I ran away. Near Gao Kadal the Mohammedans wanted to obstruct my way but one or two Sikhs helped me to proceed on. I reached Maharajganj at about 9-30 p. m. The Military was found on duty everywhere, I noticed in Maharajganj the looted shops with broken almirahs. Near one shop I saw torn and burnt pieces of *Bahis*. The road to Ali Kadal looked dangerous and desolate. Spices, small pieces of cloths and heaps of stones were seen scattered on the road. The Mohammedan shops were safe and the Hindu shops were looted. The almirahs of the shops were broken and the floor planks were scattered. I watched the above scene for a long time and then proceeded to Bhuri Kadal where I saw 7 or 8 shops being looted. One of the shops belonged to a near relative of mine. The situation at Bhuri Kadal was so sad as could move even the most

relentless. The bazar was full of red lable tea and sugar. The drains on both sides of the road were also full. The shops were broken open. Heaps of tea and sugar were found in front of my relative's shop. The looted shop-keepers were weeping. They said that no body came to save them when they were plundered. My relative related to me a sad tale and said that the Mohammedans looted sugar and distributed it among themselves, saying, that was the blood of non-Muslims. The God is great. My relative told me that he had been robbed of his cash and *Bahis*. I was told on enquiry that our neighbours have looted us. I assisted my relative in closing the shop for 45 minutes and then went back to Maharajganj. I saw Military patrolling there. I reached home in a lorry late in the evening. I observed at Bhuri Kadal and Mahrajganj that none of the Policemen prevented looting at that time.

The attack on Jail or plunder of Mahrajganj etc. was not casual nor it was the outcome of firing at the Jail but it was the result of speeches by leaders and propaganda by mischievous Muslim papers. The lecture of Master Mohammed Abdullah delivered at Gao Kadal mosque was most effective. A little portion of this lecture was also heard by me. The lecture came to a close at about 10-30 p. m. and I returned to my house. Part of the mob going towards Ganesh Ghat was seen shouting loudly, another crowd was seeing reciting a poem.

On 13th July 1931 while going to Bhuri Kadal from Maharajganj Mr. Wakefield stopped his car in the middle of the road and talked to Kh. Saad-ud-Din Shawl in a meek manner. The Police gaurd was standing all around the car. The looted Hindus tried to approach Mr. Wakefield but the Police did not permit them to do so. The people were crying for help. Not a single word of encouragement was uttered but they were asked to go and die. Hearing this I came back to the shop of my relative at Bhuri Kadal. I met Saad-ud-Din Shawl in the way. There was a constable with him. He told me that Kh. Sahib had gone to Mir Waiz and that he accompanied him for protection to a short distance.

EXHIBIT No. 64.

Written Statement of B. D. Wazir, Inspector of Telephones, Srinagar (Witness No. 49).

On 13th July 1931, I was in the Exchange room and at about 2-30 p. m. the operators on duty reported to me that there was something wrong with Central Jail line and that people were demanding connection with the Jail but there was no reply from that place. Accordingly I tested the line with the test board and found that the circuit was disconnected. I then tried Leper Asylum line which runs almost parallel to the Jail line but found that this too was disconnected. I then tried the Fort which is the next close connection branching the same line but met the same fate. Afterwards I tried Rainawari Fire Brigade and C. E. Z. Hospital etc., and found these in working order.

From the above I naturally concluded that there must be some general line break down fault somewhere beyond Rainawari towards the Jail. I therefore deputed the faultsman Ganesh Dass Khalasi on the bicycle with hand microphone and gave him instructions to run to Rainawari Hospital, patrol the line beyond Rainawari and inform me by hand microphone the condition of the line at the point he finds the fault. About half an hour after as a precautionary measure I deputed two more linemen—Qadir But Khalasi and Abdulla Shiekh lineman, to start patrolling the line right from the Exchange *via* Naupora towards Rainawari and to render assistance in case of necessity to the faultsman who had already gone ahead.

Soon after these men had left the first faultsman telephoned to me from C. E. Z. Hospital that all the lines on that side were alright upto hospital but beyond that he dared not go patrolling because of a huge mob running towards the hospital. I instructed him to wait there adding that I had already sent two more men Qadir But Khalasi and Abdulla Shiekh lineman for his assistance and that I was also coming up personally to attend to the trouble.

Accordingly I picked up the necessary line repair materials and accompanied by a Khalasi and a coolie and left for Rainawari. Near Munawar Road I saw a car going towards Rainawari and I happened to know two of its occupants (Mr. Abdul Majid, Superintendent Fire Brigade and Mr. Nanda). They kindly gave me a lift upto Rainawari. From Rainawari I ran on bicycle towards Jail leaving instructions for my men to follow me. I reached Kathi Darwaza and little further on inside, and found, that the Fort branch line wires cut and down on the ground with one or two poles of it slightly bent. Further on I reached a point near an Almond garden attached to a house near Central Jail, where one pole was broken and fallen down breaking two insulators and three wires cut and one wire dangling. The effect of the line break down at this point had spoiled levelling of the line for spans together on either sides of the site and a few poles bent.

By this time my men arrived there and I somehow re-arranged the line in a temporary working order. Tested the lines from that point and finding alright, returned with the labour party at about 6-30 p. m. when the communication was restored on that side.

EXHIBIT No. 65.

**Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Pandit Dina Nath Wariku,
Secretary Sanatan Dharam Vidiyalia Drabiyar (Witness No. 51).**

At about 8-30 a. m. on the 29th of Har 1988/13th July 1931 on my way back from Hari Parbat I heard a Mohammedan, addressing to the shop-keepers loudly "Muslim brothers, close your shops after 11 a. m. and proceed to Central Jail. Mohammed Abdullah will deliver necessary instructions. Near Kailaspura I saw a young Muslim riding a cycle and proclaiming loudly that Mohammedans must assemble at Jail before noon and that they should get the prisoner released at the risk of their lives. I reached my office at about 1 p. m. and came to know that the Mohammedans were closing their shops and were proceeding to the Central Jail. I was informed at about 3-45 that the Mohammedans had attacked the Jail and that firing was open. At about 4-15 p. m. it was heard that the Muslims had looted the Maharajganj and that the city was in danger. On reaching home I learnt that my servant had gone to Ali Kadal (Curriers' Mohalla) to bring my daughters. I was extremely upset as it was unsafe to go below Fateh Kadal. Many Hindus were beaten and were coming back from that side. At about 6-45 p. m. I proceeded to Ali Kadal and found Military guard posted every where near Curriers' Mohalla. I met with about 30 bare-headed Muslims raising woeful shouts "God, Harisingh's reign be destroyed". Stones were thrown upon us and we took shelter in a lane. I found my daughters safe at Curriers' Mohalla. I then went to Maharajganj *via* Ali Kadal. On my way back I saw many Hindus looted and molested. A Mohammedan was shouting near Rai Baba Sahib mosque "Muslims, gather together in Juma Musjid, wherefrom the funeral of the Hindu nation and Hindu sovereignty will start". I saw many articles being thrown in the river from Ali Kadal bridge. All the Hindu shops from Ali Kadal to Maharajganj had been looted and many articles were scattered on the road. I saw a Pandit severely hurt falling on account of heavy flow of blood. I had hardly

moved on when I saw Mr. Wakefield in a car. Kh. Saad-ud-Din Shawl who was once exiled for sedition was also in the car. No sooner, the car stopped, a tall man bare-headed whispered something to Kh. Saad-ud-Din who in turn communicated that to Mr. Wakefield by keeping a hand on his shoulder. The Mohammedan was afterwards sent back with a reply. I understood the Khawaja to be working as an interpreter between that Mohammedan and Mr. Wakefield. A wounded Hindu was brought there and people gathered together around him. I saw that tall Mohammedan relating the talk between himself and Mr. Wakefield and Saad-ud-Din to all the Muslims on Ghat side and saying: that they should not be afraid of the Military and that they should carry out the instructions given to them by Ghulam Ahmad Ashai and Mohammad Abdullah. Ghulam Ahmad was dismissed from the Government service on account of certain charges against him, and Abdullah was a ring-leader.

I reached my home *via* Zaina Kadal and Tashawan. I received stones on different places in the way. I heard the Muslims abusing His Highness, Hindus and Hindu officials throughout Pather Masjid and Tashawan.

EXHIBIT No. 66.

Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Sher Ahmad Khan, Drill Instructor, Police Training School, Srinagar (Witness No. 52).

I beg to state that on 29th Har 1988, Th. Mian Singh, Pt. Jia Lal, Sub-Inspectors and I proceeded to the Jail without fire arms. Punnu Mal, Probationer Head-constable, Th. Vakil Singh, Th. Luddar Singh, Sh. Fazal Alam, Th. Hari Singh, Head-constables and Mehr Singh constable and 2 or 3 other Policemen whose names I don't remember accompanied me in the lorry. We of the Training School went together. We were provided with arms at the Central Jail and the D. S. P. ordered us to return to the city. The D. S. P. warned us that there was every likelihood of an attack and that we were at liberty to open fire for personal safety. This order was given in the presence of the District Magistrate and the D. I. G. of Police. We left Jail for Amira Kadal to guard the houses of the officers. Near Kathi Darwaza, a mob of about one thousand persons began to shower stones upon us, and broke to peices the wind screen of the lorry. The lorry stopped and the rioters started assaulting us. The mob surrounded the lorry on all sides and the situation appeared serious. I also took part in firing. Firing was restored to disperse the mob. The rioters dispersed and our lorry started towards the city. We did not see dead or wounded at that time. After the fire stone-throwing stopped and the firing also stopped. Sh. Abdul Majid, Superintendent Fire Brigade, who accompanied us in the lorry, got down in front of the Fire Brigade Head office. At last we reached Sher Garhi Police station. I was detailed to the house of the District Magistrate. The rest were sent to guard the houses of other officers. I went to my duty. Next day I went back to the Police Training School, and reported to Inspector Baij Nath about the firing and gave him the cartridges and the rifle. The Inspector told me that I should not be anxious and that in a precarious time like the one we had the Inspector too had to open fire.

EXHIBIT No. 67.

Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Hari Singh, Head-constable (Witness No. 53), dated 30th Samvat 1988.

I beg to state that on 29th Har 1988/13th July 1931 at about noon, a message was received from Police Lines to detail ten Policemen

from the Training School for duty. The Inspector incharge complied with this order and sent ten men to Jail in a lorry. About an hour after another message was received and all the reserve force of the school was sent to the Jail, some armed with rifles and some with Lathies. I accompanied the armed force under the command of the Inspector. On our way to the Jail we saw a huge mob of Mohammedans assembled near Kathi Darwaza. The people had caught hold of a wayfarer Sadhu and were beating him. We stopped our lorry to free the Sadhu. The mob at the sight of the Policemen ran away. We saw the road spotted with blood and found a brass cap of the Fire Brigade employee. We also noticed the damaged Fire Brigade Engine and the wounded fire brigade men going towards the Jail. The Jail had been attacked before we arrived there and the mob had dispersed. But innumerable Mohammedans had assembled near Hari Parbat. The D. S. P. ordered Thakur Mian Singh, Sub-Inspector and his party in the presence of D. I. G. and the D. M. to return to the city to guard the houses of the officers and to patrol near Amira Kadal Bazar. In obedience to the above order, we started towards the city. The D. S. P. further instructed us that in case of an attack by the Muslim mob we could open fire by way of self defence and to save the rifles from being snatched. On seeing us at Kathi Darwaza the mob began to shout "beat them, beat them" and attacked our lorry and smashed the wind screen by pelting stones. The lorry was stopped. The mob approached nearer and hand to hand fight was about to take place, when fire was opened from behind the lorry. I fired in the air. I was sure that the life was in danger. On firing the people ran away and we started towards the city. Afterwards Policemen were put on duty of the houses of the officers and on patrol.

EXHIBIT No. 68.

Translation of Vernacular Statement of Habib Maqai (Witness No. 54).

Most respectfully I beg to state that a few days before the death of Mir Waiz a meeting was held at the house of M. Asad Ullah Advocate to discuss the demand of rights. On His Highness' return from Europe a meeting consisting of both communities was held at the house of Pt. Balkak Dhar. Some were of opinion that Hindus and Muslims should jointly entertain His Highness in a tea party. It was heard that a telegram was sent to this effect and some people had gone to receive His Highness at Bombay. The above opinion was changed within next 6 hours and resulted in the recent disturbance. On His Highness' arrival people of all sects leaving their business, gathered together on the river side with pleasure to see their Ruler. The Government officials thought that they would get one month's pay as reward on this auspicious occasion and the people thought that Shali rates shall be reduced. The famine allowance was stopped and general reduction in different departments was taken in hand. This caused unrest and the conspiracies started among the officials. Remours about the defilement of the holy Quran added to the displeasure of the Muslims. Mohammedans began to protest against the incident by delivering lectures. Again the question of right and privileges came in. The Hindus made the death of a Hindu girl a point of contention. It has not yet been ascertained how did she die. The Kashmiri Hindus on recovering the dead body of the girl approached the members of the Punjabi Hindus managing committees to ask for help against the Muslims, but they refused to interfere. They said if a Mohammedan has done it as an individual act, he shall suffer the consequences. If there is a conspiracy then it must be a communal jealousy but nothing can be said without proper investigation. In reality the Hindus wanted to create dissention, otherwise not even once a funeral procession like the one witnessed on that occasion was seen before.

2. The Mohammedans continued delivering lectures in Juma Masjid to demand privileges and redress against the defilement of Quran. Then arose the danger of floods from which we were saved by His Highness' personal help. Work of His Highness was a land mark in the history of Kashmir. A meeting was held at Khanqah-i-Maula for selection of Muslim representatives. At the close of the meeting one Abdul Qadeer delivered a lecture which resulted in his arrest. His case was being tried by the court. A Government proclamation was read out to the public by the Governor in Urdu and its translation in Kashmiri by Ghulam Rasool, Municipal Commissioner, in the Exhibition ground. The Hindus were pleased at it and Muslims were displeased. On Friday three or four days after the proclamation a lecture was delivered in Juma Masjid in which the Mohammedans declared that they would not harm Hindus nor that would they excite their religious sentiments. But the people tried to spread baseless rumours to prejudice the Hindus. They even said that Mohammedans have established their right to do that which is prohibited in Hindu religion. The Mohammedans had not the least idea of what was going on. On the contrary the Mohammedans passed a resolution in a meeting, denying the allegations and submitted a copy to His Highness. The Hindus wanted to instigate the Rajputs and to incite them against the Mohammedans. I have been attending all the lectures upto this time, and I have not heard any person saying anything seditious or exciting communal hatred. Only one day I heard a Mohammedan reciting a poem which meant "that Muslims cannot tolerate to remain as slaves under the Hindus and that they would not take rest till they are granted due privileges.

3. Thereafter probably on 29th Har 1988/13th July 1931, I went to see a Hanji at Batwara and I came to know that he had gone to Khawaja Yarbali Ghat for sale of Shali. I came back in a tonga and at about 1 p.m. I reached Kathi Darwaza where I saw Mr. Thappa, Police officer, and the Public Prosecutor Sunder Lal driving a car. I saw some people also going towards the Jail.

On enquiry I learnt that final judgment was to be pronounced in the case of Abdul Qadeer. I accordingly left for the Jail to hear the judgment and saw some two hundred men in the Jail compound. Maulvi Abdullah delivered a lecture and advised the crowd not to make noise and disperse. He further said "listen to me and let me conduct the case". Upon this the people left the compound and came out in the garden outside the Jail Guard Lines. People continued assembling there and mob swelled to about 300 people in all. Shortly after the D. M., City Munsiff, Superintendent and the A. S. P. arrived in cars. Some Police force also came in a lorry. The people were standing inside the garden wall. At the sight of the above affairs they began to shout "Allah-O-Akbar", "Abdul Qadeer Zindabad", "Islam Zindabad". Maulvi Abdullah came in the garden in the company of Ghulam Mohammed and instructed the mob to disperse. They went in and after a few minutes Sh. Abdul Karim, Inspector C. I. D. came and advised the people to keep silent. About 4 or 5 hundred men had assembled by that time. A Mohammedan recited the call to prayers and the people began to say prayers. The Policemen began to arrest the people but they ran away. Two or four men were arrested and some more were saying that they should be put in Jail. I came back quickly to my home and saw a few Mohammedans throwing stones and afterwards fire was opened and seven died and very many were wounded. The Mohammedans took *charpoy*s from the Police Chowki and brought their dead and wounded to the city. From Kathi Darwaza I noticed that the Mohammedans tried to set fire to the Police Lines and cut off the telephone wires. A few people brought a dead and a wounded persons there. The Fire Brigade also arrived in time. The people asked a tonga man standing there to take the wounded person to the hospital but he refused. The people began to throw stones on the horse. I asked the Tongawala to accede to their request and save life. Seven men carried the wounded to the hospital in that tonga. After that 50 or 60 Cavalry men

arrived there and I left for home. A dead body was being carried by Mohammedans who asked me to take off my turban as a sign of respect for the dead. We reached Maharajganj and the mob had by that time swelled to one thousand. The people requested the compounder of Dr. Abdul Wahid to examine the wounded, but he refused and said that that was not a Government Dispensary. Dr. Dev Koul refused similarly. There upon the Mohammedans entered his shop and threw out his medicines. The crowd being very large, it was difficult to get on in the bazar, on account of that rush, a few Hindus fell down on the shop of a Hindu, but one of them received a severe blow on his head from the shop-keeper and fell down senseless. Upon this the Mohammedans began to throw off his goods. I reached my home and again left it for Nawa Kadal. I saw a Pandit boy walking on the bridge. A few Mohammedans threw away his bicycle and cap in the river, I protested but in vain. I sheltered the Pandit boy in my house. But he was anxious to go to his house. I went with him to his house to console his parents. I saw Military men patrolling in the bazars, thereafter I went to the house of my friend where I had kept the Pandit boy. I brought him to my house and phoned in the way to a friend of mine from the Diamond Jubilee Hospital. I met some of my Hindu school fellows who were extremely anxious. I accompanied them to their respective houses. Shortly after I received a message from the house of my Pandit friend that I should pass my night with them. I accordingly went there and at about 9 or 9-30 p. m. I heard the sound of firing. The mother of my Pandit friend asked me what was the matter, I asked her not to be anxious. I got up in the morning and at about 7 a. m. I proceeded to my house. The Military guard was on duty on the other side of the bridge. A Police constable who knew me but I do not remember his name was also there. The Militarymen prevented me to proceed further. All the Mohammedans of the neighbourhood knew me. They entertained me with tea. I heard from them that a few men of my caste had been killed yesterday. I thought they may not be my relatives. I came out and tried to go to my house but the Militarymen did not allow me to proceed further. I saw the Pandits passing by. I was allowed to go after half an hour and nobody prevented me. I reached home and came to know that two of my relatives had been shot down by the Military while they were returning from the mosque after saying prayers and that they had been sent to the Juma Masjid. Sometime after one or two traders of Amira Kadal came to my house. They stated that they heard yesterday that he had been shot. I immediately started towards Amira Kadal *via* Nawa Bazar to contradict the rumour. In Nawa Bazar I saw the Military shooting four or five men passing in the bazar. One of them died instantaneously and the rest were wounded. On seeing this I returned to my house.

Opinion on general points.

I beg to suggest that the present disturbances require the following reforms:—

The public at large is un-employed in Srinagar this is due to the Congress activities throughout India. For example the carpet and Pashmina-weavers, embroiderers, sculptors etc. are sitting idle. The result is that very many people are idle and starving. They naturally form associations for improvement. The present trouble can be removed by enacting a few sympathetic laws. The world wide depression has affected this State as well. But no facilities have been offered. The rates of wheat and rice in India have fallen to Rs. 1/2/- and Rs. 2/4/- per maund respectively but the rate of Shali fixed by the Food Control Department is Rs. 5 per Kharwar. The trader's rate is Rs. 6 per Kharwar. This excess of Re. 1 is due to the fact that the Food Control Department covers all the Shali leaving very small quantity for the traders. The poor people have got very little money and the average amount of Shali that can be had from the store once a month on cash payment, is three Kharwars per house. They cannot afford to purchase at that rate as they

hardly earn Re. -/4/- a day, and some of them are sitting idle and earn nothing. The Food Control Department is a commercial concern just like a big shop. The employees of this department should be held responsible to sell Shali daily to every person possessing a Shali ticket on cash payment. This arrangement shall curtail the difficulties of the public to a little extent. Moreover the rate of Shali may be reduced to the extent of Re. -/8/- per Kharwar. This will also remove poverty.

The Shali store may be continued but Shali should be purchased from the Zamindars as usual at the rate of Rs. 3/12/- per Kharwar and sold to the public at the rate of Rs. 4/8/- a Kharwar. The difference of Re. -/12/- may be kept as State profit. The department may be reduced. In this way five or six thousand persons can be employed. This proposal being of utmost importance requires special attention. It would not be out of place to suggest that a sum of Rs. 2 or 3 lacs may be advanced by His Highness for State business just as the Government has advanced a sum of 3 lacs for the Silk Industry. This shall save the public from starvation and the un-employment. This shall also lessen mortality and create favourable circumstances. In my opinion this is the best solution to quell disturbance. There may be other causes, which led to recent disturbances but unlike the Hindus the illiterate and ignorant Muslims have few reasons to grumble. Nobody thinks of helping the Ruler. We ought to keep him and try to maintain his dignity.

EXHIBIT No. 69.

Translation of the Statement of Ali Sheikh, Jail Employee (Witness No. 55).

I was on duty at the Jail gate from 2 to 3 p. m. on 29th Har 1988/13th September 1931. I took charge from Sri Kanth Gate-keeper, who told me that the hasp of the Jail gate was broken and that the matter should be reported to the Jamadar. The Jamadar came out and I verbally reported to him regarding the hasp. He told me that the Mistri has been ordered to repair it. The Jamadar also instructed me to communicate the same to the Deputy Jailor. Just at that time the Sessions Judge arrived in a car. Many people followed the car and entered the Jail compound. The Sessions Judge accompanied by the Jailor went towards the Civil Ward. The Judge went upstairs in the office room and the Jailor remained below. The gate was closed. A few people pushed it and ran away. Just at that time the Policemen opened fire and pursued the mob. I know nothing further.

EXHIBIT No. 70.

Mr. Wakefield's Note on the Srinagar disturbances (Witness No. 56).

On the 13th of July 1931 all Ministers had been summoned by His Highness to the 'Karn Bagh' to discuss matters in connection with the recent floods and to decide what action should be taken to make things safer still in case another flood unfortunately occurred at the end of August or beginning of September next. I cannot remember the exact time but, I think, it must have been between 1-30 and 2 p. m. that I was sent by His Highness to the Resident regarding certain matters. I was, I suppose, about half an hour or 20 minutes with the Resident. On my way back to His Highness at 'Karan Bagh' I looked in at my office at Taley Manzil and was told by my Personal Assistant that, during my absence, an apparently very agitated telephone message had been received by him from Raizada Trilok Chand, Governor, from the Central Jail,

to effect that, a great riot had occurred, that the Jail had been attacked by a mob and requesting that Military should be despatched at once. The Personal Assistant told me that he had replied to the Governor to effect that, I was not in, and the Personal Assistant at once telephoned to 'Karn Bagh' but finding that I was not there either, he telephoned to the Hazur Office and told Pandit Shambu Nath Clerk to go and tell Mr. Wattal if I was not there. The Personal Assistant rang up the Hazur Office twice after that to ascertain whether the message had been delivered or not but got no reply. As soon as I heard all this, I tried to get into telephonic communication with the Governor at the Central Jail but was told by the Operator at the Telephone Exchange that the connection was interrupted. It then struck me that, as the Hari Parbat Fort overlooked the Jail, I might be able to get some information from there. So I telephoned to the Fort and was answered at once by somebody who in reply to my inquiries said that he had seen a great mob down at the Jail and they had been fired upon and had dispersed and he had counted about 15 people being carried away by the mob. I then telephoned to Brigadier Sutherland at his house and told him to send the Body Guard Cavalry to the Jail as soon as possible. He told me that the Body Guard Cavalry had already been ordered by His Highness to proceed. I then telephoned to the Body Guard Cavalry and was told that they had already left. I then motored as fast as I could to the Jail. When I got to the Kathi Darwaza, I found Brigadier Sutherland there with a few troopers. He had apparently arrived a short time before I had. He told me that he had dispersed a crowd on the plain to the south-west of the Kathi Darwaza and had picked up two wounded men whom he was arranging to send to the hospital in a van. I then proceeded with Brigadier Sutherland and some troopers to the Jail. On my arrival I found the whole place near the gate of the Jail strewn with stones which had been thrown by the mob. I found the Governor, the Deputy Inspector General of Police, the District Superintendent of Police and the Assistant Superintendent of Police and the Chief Medical Officer at the Jail and shortly after my arrival, the Inspector General of Police also arrived. I also found the Military detachment which had been sent direct to the Jail from the Badami Bagh Cantonment. I also found the Fire Brigade on top of the Police Lines which, it was stated to me, had been set on fire by the mob and the fire had been extinguished by the Fire Brigade. The Lines were empty and there was a confused mass of Policemen's kit boxes and beds, etc., lying outside. I saw that the iron gate of the Jail had been forced. There is a big cross bolt on the inside of the gate with vertical staples holding it to the body of the gate. Apparently by great pressure on the gate, the staples had sprung, and when I saw them they had been made fast again apparently by chisel strokes on the outside of the gate which had made the iron so treated much brighter than the rest of the iron on the gate. I asked the Governor to tell me what had happened. As far as I can remember he told me the following story :—

The Magistrate who was to try Abdul Qadeer in the Jail, had arrived at the Jail and had at once been surrounded by a mob which had collected there. He had entered the Jail and the mob had at once dashed at the Jail and tried to force the door open but had been prevented by the guards who were most inadequately armed with muzzle-loading very old rifles. The Jail authorities then telephoned to the Governor for extra Police and the Governor came to the Jail with the other officers and some Policemen armed with smooth bore Martini Henri rifles and buck-shot cartridges. After arrival at the Jail, the Governor ordered the Police to make arrests, the mob still being collected in front of the Jail. The Police proceeded to arrest people and they were at once stoned by the mob and many Policemen were badly hurt. The mob next made an attack on the Jail and the Governor when he found the situation desperate, ordered the Police to open fire. I asked whether there had been any casualties and everybody present said they had not seen any.

Regarding the time of my arrival at the Jail, I am able to the best of my recollection to fix it by the fact that, when the big outer iron gate was opened to admit me into the first enclosure, the Jail clock commenced to strike and I noticed what a very sweet tone it had and to the best of my recollection it struck 3 p. m. I then went into the Jail and into the barrack where the 32 men arrested from the mob by the Police were collected. I spoke to them and asked them what they had been doing there. They were all Mohammedans and one man came forward and said that they had merely been praying and the Police had opened fire upon them. I asked whether stone-throwing had anything to do with praying, because I had found the whole space before the Jail littered with stones thrown by the mob. I received no answer to this enquiry and left the barrack and went to the Jail hospital, where I saw all the constables who had been wounded by the stone-throwing, one man was in a particularly bad condition as he had been struck on the head. Before entering the Jail, I directed Brigadier Sutherland with his Cavalry to proceed to the Juma Masjid where I was told there was a great concourse of people and I sent a detachment of the Infantry to the Maharajganj which somebody said had been looted. After my inspection inside the Jail referred to above, I motored to the Maharajganj where I found that shops had been looted and the streets were full of torn up papers, boxes and shop debris of all description and I saw at least one Pandit who was bleeding profusely all over his clothes. The Military were in occupation of the Ganj and I presently saw Pandits and other Hindus with the help of the Military bringing Mohammedans into the Ganj with bits of loot such as Thans of cloth etc. I was surrounded by Hindus complaining bitterly of the looting and I remember that one of the Bhagats, probably Karam Chand, showed me a bruise on his leg and made a specific statement to effect that Dr. Abdul Wahid had incited the mob to loot. He also added that, although the Punjabi Hindus were armed with pistols, etc., they had exercised great restraint and had not used them. I told him to try and quieten things down and assured him that there would be a thorough investigation. I then went off to report to His Highness. On arrival at 'Karn Bagh' I found that he had left and I eventually found him at Ram Niwas where I reported to him what I had seen. At Ram Niwas I received a telephone message from Brigadier Sutherland to effect that he had been to the Juma Masjid and had been stoned there and that a very big mob was collected inside the Juma Masjid with several bodies reported to be 40 and he had left the Juma Masjid as he found that he could not do anything with such a mob. I then got hold of Nawab Khusro Jung who had returned from a tour through portions of the city with some of the Palace Guards. He told me that he had gone into the Juma Masjid but could do nothing as the people were very excited and there was a great concourse in there. I proceeded with Nawab Khusro Jung to the Juma Masjid and on arrival there I decided that the only thing to do was to try and get in, because, so far no body had any authentic information as to what the result of the firing at the Jail had been. I walked to the main gate of the Juma Masjid and asked some of the Mohammedans standing there to permit me to enter. They took our shoes off and Nawab Khusro Jung and I walked in. The Masjid was packed to suffocation by a howling mob. I stood still and kept on waving my arms to the people to sit down. I eventually succeeded in quietening the multitude. I then walked round and looked at the dead, there were 10 bodies with shot wounds. I then took 3 or 4 of the apparent leaders including Saad-ud-Din Shawl aside inside the mosque, moving with great difficulty through the packed multitude sitting down, and spoke to them and eventually induced them to try and get the people away without trouble, explaining that with such a concourse it was impossible to investigate in any way. They were able to send the people away gradually and I returned to the Ram Niwas. Conversations took place there. The Governor and the Police officers were sent for. Eventually Khawaja Nur Shah was sent for and he offered the use of the Naqashband Sahib burial

ground of which he is a Sajada Nashin. This was a great advantage because it is situated quite close to the Juma Masjid where the bodies were lying and their burial in that cemetery made it unnecessary to carry the bodies long distances and publicity and risk of disturbances was thus avoided. The Governor and Khawaja Nur Shah as far as I can remember were sent off to try and induce burial of the bodies during the night, but they failed to bring that about. I went to the Juma Masjid some time late that night, I can not remember the exact hour, and found that the bodies were still in the Juma Masjid and the gates were closed. I also went to the Badami Bagh Cantonment that afternoon and gave instructions regarding the despatch of troops to the city. It was also decided to bring all the troops out at Khundru under training, into Srinagar as soon as possible, and that work was accomplished in a remarkable manner during the night by means of motor lorries which conveyed about 800 men from Khundru to Srinagar, a distance of 43 miles, by day light on the 14th July.

On the 13th July I recommended to His Highness immediate arrest and internment of six agitators, three of whom had come from Jammu, and 3 who were in Kashmir, whose names are given below:—

1. Gulam Abbas.
2. Gohar Rahman.
3. Yaqub Ali.
4. S. M. Abdulla.
5. Abdur Rahim.
6. Gulam Nabi.

because I was convinced from what I knew of the activities of these men that their being allowed to remain at large then was a grave danger to the public peace. A telegram submitted at 10-44 a. m. on 13th July 1931 for despatch from Srinagar by Gohar Rahman, one of the Jammu men, to his Association at Jammu instructing them to resume activities boldly had also been intercepted that day. The three Jammu men were arrested that night and taken to the Quarter-Guard at Badami Bagh and confined there. Mohammed Abdulla was arrested next day by Brigadier Sutherland at the Juma Masjid and Abdul Rahim and Gulam Nabi were arrested later on. All six are now interned in the Hari Parbat Fort. As more troops became available, they were posted at all the nineteen Police Stations throughout the city, reserves being held at Ram Niwas and other places.

On the 14th our problem was to bury the dead in Juma Masjid without permitting any disturbance to occur. With that object in view, orders were given by Brigadier Sutherland to Maulvi Mohammed Yusaf who was apparently the most influential man present at the Juma Masjid, that no more than 50 persons would be permitted to accompany the bodies from the Juma Masjid to the burial ground. When I arrived later at the Juma Masjid, Maulvi Mohammed Yusaf protested to me most vehemently and said that the whole mass of people must be permitted to accompany the funerals, otherwise it would be an undue interference with their religious liberties. I told him emphatically that under no circumstances would more than 50 persons be permitted and if he tried to deliberately disobey the orders, he would have to take the consequences. By that time we had sufficient force at the Juma Masjid to enforce orders. The result was that 11 bodies (one had been brought in that morning) were brought out of the Juma Masjid and the gates were shut, confining the great multitude inside the Masjid. Brigadier Sutherland accompanied the bodies to the burial ground and was present during the burials. Due respect was shown to the dead as they were borne past the Military. I remained at the Juma Masjid because the great multitude was within it. Several hours elapsed and the people inside the Masjid became much

troubled by calls of nature. So I decided to let them out gradually and consequently by the time the Maulvis returned from the burial ground, the crowd had practically dispersed.

After this I regret I am unable to give any day to day account, because we all worked under the greatest pressure both night and day, making day to day arrangements of watch and ward and touring through the city night and day to prevent disturbances.

On 15th July all the members of the different wards of the Municipality of Srinagar were sent for and given instructions which are attached to this note. The Mir Waiz Hamdani and Maulvi Mohammed Yusaf were interviewed by the Ministers once, I think and by me in the presence of the Governor and Brigadier Sutherland once, with the object of restoring amicable relations between the communities and inducing the Mohammedan shop-keepers to open their shops. They requested that all the persons arrested in connection with the looting of shops should be permitted to be bailed out under the law. Orders were issued accordingly and before that His Highness had been pleased to appoint two officers, Khawaja Nur Shah and Pandit Gopal Ram Thappa, District Superintendent of Police, to make a cursory examination of all such persons and to release those against whom there was no *prima facie* case. The Maulvis had promised that the shops would be opened if the arrested persons were released on bail but that promise was not carried out although I believe that the District Magistrate immediately took action to bail out prisoners.

P. S.—The following letter addressed to the Resident and received by me from him officially is of interest and helps to throw light on the sequence of events on the 13th.

Copy of a letter from Gurmukh Singh Chawla, to the Resident in Kashmir, dated the 5th July 1931.

On the 13th of this month, while I and my two friends were making certain petty purchases at Bhagat Chuni Lal's shop in Maharajganj a Muslim procession carrying some injured persons on Charpoys passed that way at about 2-30 p.m. and assumed a threatening attitude towards all non-Muslims present there and began hurling stones and other heavy implements. We were able to save our lives by taking shelter in the shop where we had to wait for two hours in terrible suspense before the Military force arrived and rescued us but our car No. P 1003 B, Ford 1930 Model, that was standing just outside the shop was attacked by the mob and badly smashed. The Triplex glass, Lucas horn, a beautiful watch, the top, the whole body of the car, the head and tail lights were damaged and broken or disfigured. Various parts of the engine, such as the distributor, the radiator, the petrol pipe, spark plugs etc., etc., were pounded with stones and rendered useless.

The whole handiwork of the frenzied mob was shown to the State officials who visited the scene soon after; and it was by the kind courtesy of the Secretary of State, Thakar Kartar Singh that we were able to reach our residential quarter late in the evening, by means of his car since our own could not work.

We are British Indian subjects who came here for a few weeks on a pleasure trip; we would, therefore, feel grateful to you if you will kindly move His Highness' Government to pay us for the loss sustained by us. The repairs probably would cost us not less than Rs. 700 or 800 though the car will never again be the same that it was.

We would be leaving for Amritsar as soon as possible but would feel obliged if you will acknowledge receipt of this at the above address.

Proceedings of a meetings held at Ram Nivas Palace on the 15th July 1931.

PRESENT :

1. Major General Janak Singhji.
2. Mr. P. K. Wattal.

3. Mr. G. E. C. Wakefield.
4. Brigadier Onkar Singhji.
5. Pt. Somnath.
6. Pt. Jia Lal Kilam, Ward Member.
7. Pt. Shamboo Nath „ „
8. Kh. Gulam Rasul „ „
9. Kh. Ali Mohammed „ „
10. Syed Rasul Jalali „ „
11. Pandit Radha Kishen „ „
12. Kh. Mohammed Sadiq „ „

After full consultation it was decided that :—

1. A statement should be drawn up showing the number of Military pickets stationed in each Ward, their Head-quarters and strength.

2. According to the strength of the Military in each Ward, each Ward Member should immediately select a sufficient number of reliable persons—half the number being Hindus, and half Mohammedans—so that each Military Patrol in his Ward should on all occasions be accompanied by two residents of the Ward, preferably non-officials, one being a Hindu and the other a Mohammedan. The function of these representatives of the public will be to help the Military in every possible way.

3. The Police are at present not carrying out their ordinary watch and ward duties which have been principally taken over by the Military, but the Police are carrying out house-searches for looted property and on such occasions they should also be supplied by every Ward Member with selected persons to accompany and render the assistance. For this purpose each Ward Member will be supplied with a statement by the District Superintendent of Police, showing the number of Police, and their location in his Ward. The Ward Member will supply the District Superintendent of Police with a statement of selected persons in each Mohalla to enable the Police to make use of them.

4. It was decided that every Ward Member should immediately set about restoring confidence amongst the people. He, assisted by any persons he desires, should tour through every Mohalla, induce the people to open their shops, contradict false rumours and assure the people that they should have no fear. He should in every possible way, endeavour to restore confidence and amicable relations amongst the communities.

5. The Ward Members are unanimously of opinion that the situation has entirely been saved by the Military and are emphatically of opinion that they should not be removed at present. They have been told that as soon as they consider it safe to withdraw troops they will be withdrawn as they cannot be kept in the city indefinitely.

NOTE.—Colonel Nawab Khusro Jung, Home Minister and Brigadier R. O. Sutherland, Chief of the Military Staff, who were not able to be present at the meeting itself, have read the proceedings and are in agreement with the decisions arrived at.

EXHIBIT 72.

Translation of Vernacular Statement of Bhagat Karam Chand (Witness No. 57), dated 1st August 1931.

On Monday the 29th of Har 1988/13th July 1931 at about 2-15 p. m. I was sitting on my shop at Maharajganj with Tek Chand and Tara Chand. I can see Dr. Abdul Wahid's shop from my shop. The Doctor was present with his compounder at his shop. I saw a few Kashmiri Mohammedans bringing two wounded men on *Charpoys* from Putli Bagh side. They placed them on the shop of the said Doctor.

Soon after about one hundred Mohammedans assembled in front of his shop. They were abusing His Highness and the Hindus most indecently. I at once proceeded to Doctor's shop and saw the Doctor addressing the crowd in a loud voice and saying "what are you waiting for. This is an opportunity to loot the Hindu merchants freely and avenge yourself by killing them". Excitement prevailed among the Muslims and they were getting eager for loot. I hurried back to protect my shop. Bhagat Ladha Shah and other merchants came over to my shop. I narrated the whole account to all of them. When the mob advanced towards the Police Post Maharajganj, Dr. Abdul Wahid left on his tonga for Zaina Kadal. If the Doctor had not excited the crowd, loot would never have taken place. The Mohammedans carrying the wounded men on *charpoys* placed them in front of the Police Post and started damaging a car, belonging to a certain sikh visitor from Amritsar. The car was standing in front of the shop of Bhagat Chuni Lal. On hearing this, I left my shop with about ten men. We were pelted with stones, we came back to our own shops and took Lathies to rescue Bhagat Chuni Lal. We were seriously injured with stones. We instructed Chuni Lal to close the shop and go up to the first storey. By this time the mob of Kashmiri Muslims had moved down to Ali Kadal. Some of them went to the shop of Dr. Abdul Wahid and to Police Chowki. They kept on throwing stones, we tried to oppose them but they overpowered us. The number of the mob increased by this time and we closed our shops to save ourselves but the mob tried to break open the outer door but they could not succeed. The doors still show stone marks. We noticed all this through crevice of the boards of the doors. Having failed in their attempt to break the doors of our shops the Mohammedan mob tried to break open doors of the shops situated outside the market. They began to break open the shops of my deceased brother Bhagat Rup Chand. On hearing the noise, I ran towards that shop in the company of 5 or 6 men and saw that stones were being thrown and that Nanak Chand Jagan Nath's shop was being looted.

In the very beginning of this riot, I telephoned to the higher authorities such as I. G., D. I. G. and Governor but none of them replied. After waiting for a while, when the situation had become serious I telephoned to Bhagat Duni Chand at Amira Kadal and told him all that had happened and requested him to arrange for Government help. He informed me at 4 p. m. that Military aid had been sent and would reach soon.

There is a Police Chowki at Maharajganj. The Police guard posted there did not even get down in the Ganj, but on the other hand they closed themselves in the upper storey and did not leave it till the Military arrived. I remained in bed for several days on account of the injuries received by me. A medical certificate was procured. Besides myself Bhagat Amir Chand, Kishan Chand, Hukam Chand and Tara Chand have also received serious injuries.

Some of the looted property was recovered on the very day of the occurrence and on the next day by Pt. Bhim Sain Magistrate with the help of the Police. A good deal of looted property would have been found if the Police had not failed in its duty. The merchants have been ruined on account of a heavy loss of property.

This incident seems to be the result of a deep rooted conspiracy. If proper redress is not made, the merchants and the Hindu subjects will be ruined. I identified some of the offenders in the presence of the Police and can identify others. Some of the offenders are still at large and no attempt has been made to arrest them up till now. The local Police did not record evidence although I was called to the Maharajganj Police-station for the recording of my evidence. The Police intentionally hesitates to investigate the cases.

EXHIBIT No. 73.

Translation of the Statement of Karam Chand son of Tulsi Ram, Proprietor of the shop Tulsi Ram-Kesho Dass (Witness No. 58).

The looting in Maharajganj started on Monday, the 29th of Har 1988, at about 2-15 p. m. I was sitting on my shop and my servant Vishan Joo (his father's name not known) and my minor son Ghani Sham were both inside the shop. Many bare-headed Muslims were seen running hither and thither in the bazar. They were asking the Mohammedans to close their shops. I also ordered my servant to shut the doors. He did so accordingly. In a short while a large crowd assembled in front of Dr. Abdul Wahid's shop. The Doctor cried out "loot the Hindu shops". My shop is close to Doctor Abdul Wahid's shop. The mob began to swell and feeling danger. I went upstairs. The excited mob armed with Lathies and stones reached in front of my shop and was being led by Abli Joo Bassoo, a shop-keeper of Maharajganj. Ali Joo's two sons or nephews also accompanied him. They shouted to address the mob to plunder the Hindu cloth merchants' shops. The mob attacked my shop. My son escaped, but Vishan Joo was severely beaten by Abli Joo Bassoo and was dragged to Ali Kadal, Vishan Joo is missing uptill now. I think that Vishan Joo who served me for over thirty years has been killed. His relatives have reported the matter to the Police. Abli Joo Bassoo while beating my servant called upon the mob to destroy my *Bahis* (ledgers) which being done the mob began to plunder the shop. I noticed all this from the Verandha of the 1st storey of my shop. The mob breaking open the iron-safe containing ornaments and cash took away the contents. Abli Bassoo was my debtor, so he tried to do away with my ledgers. The Military detachment arrived at about 4-30, I came down and saw my shop looted. I complained to all the officers who happened to come there, but no one listened to me. I made repeated requests to the Police for the recovery of the looted property from the houses of the Muslims but the officers paid no heed to my request, whatever has been recovered was recovered by the Military help.

The ledger which has been destroyed contained accounts of various persons and amounted to about Rs. 90,000 I started my business here some sixty years age. I have suffered a loss of Rs. 40,000 including the cost of cloth, Pashmina, Silk goods, cash and ornaments taken away. It is unbearable to a poor man like me. The loot started at 2-15 p. m. and no action was taken by the Government till 4-30 p. m. If we could get the Government help in time we would not have been looted at all. Kindly have mercy and issue orders in my case that I may be able to start my business again. Our lives are still in danger and special attention of the Government may be drawn to this matter.

EXHIBIT No. 74.

Statement of Bhagat Amirchand son of Lala Bhagat Sukh Dial, resident of Maharajganj (Witness No. 59).

On 29th Har 1988, at about 2-15 p. m. I was on my shop, when I saw many people assembled in front of Dr. Abdul Wahid's shop. My shop is close to Bhagat Karam Chand's shop—I saw Bhagat Karam Chand running towards the mob, followed by 5 or 10 persons. I also proceeded behind him when we reached near the gate of the shop, we heard the Doctor addressing the mob loudly "what do you wait for" loot and beat the Hindus. Hearing this, we returned to our shops and informed all

present there to defend themselves. The people then took the wounded men on 2 or 4 *charpoy*s to the Police Chowki and the mob began to break a visitor's car standing near Bhagat Chuni Lal's shop. We also heard that the shops of Bhagat Chuni Lal and Dr. Deva Koul were being looted. We had hardly proceeded towards the main gate of the Ganj when the mob started stone-throwing. We in the company of 15 or 20 men armed with Lathies advanced fearlessly towards the shop of Bhagat Chuni Lal and that the broken car and closed shop of Chuni Lal. We enquired about him and were told that he had been looted of only a few things. We asked him to close the shop and go upstairs. We drove the mob 5 or 10 steps and returned to our shops in Maharajganj. The mob continued throwing stones upon us. We opposed them but could not withstand their force. The mob had increased, we therefore retired and closed the shops and doors. We were wounded, I got seven or eight injuries out of which the injury on the head was serious and was bleeding. On closing the doors the mob began throwing stones and break the doors. But they did not succeed. The marks of hammering the doors by stones are still visible. We heard the mob looting the shops and carrying away the goods. We also heard that the mob was breaking open the shop of the late Bhagat Rup Chand. Bhagat Karam Chand went out and shouted that the shop of Rup Chand was being broken open. We also came out and saw that the mob tried to open it. We also came to know that the shops of Jagan Nath and others were being looted and the contents were being removed. The mob again showered stones upon us and we came back. We had phoned to different officers for help and had learnt that they were sending help. We phoned Bhagat Duni Chand in Amira Kadal that we were being looted, wounded and that the people had assembled in great numbers. He replied that he would come and that the Military had been despatched. The Policemen present at Maharajganj Chowki did not interfere at all during the loot. We had also phoned to Mr. Wakefield at about 3 p. m. and we were informed that the arrangements were being made and that he had already received information. The Military arrived at about 4-30 p. m. The officers who came there were also told about the occurrence and showed my injuries to the Governor. I have secured the Medical certificate. The Police did not take down my statement. We went twice or thrice to the Police but the matter was not investigated.

EXHIBIT No. 75.

**Written Statement of Pandit Gopi Nath Handoo, Science Master, C. M. S.
High School, Srinagar (Witness No. 60).**

On Monday the 13th July 1931 (29th Har 1988) at 8 a. m. three Mohammedan Volunteers came to our Mohalla and informed the Mohammedans to attend Juma Masjid. One of our next door neighbours Mohammed Mir Dabagh said to his neighbour Ahmad Lon "let us go to Juma and thence we shall make a Hullah on the Jail".

At 2-40 p. m. our school (C. M. S. High School) was attacked with stones and brick-bats by a Mohammedan mob and the mob went towards Fateh Kadal. When the school was over, the boys were arranged in groups from different localities and the teachers from those localities accompanied them. I with Pt. Shanker Koul, (Head Master), Pt. Madho Bhan and Pt. Niranjana Nath Fotadar accompanied the boys from Nawa Kadal and Safa Kadal side.

We all marched in a group, when we reached Urdu Bazar we saw a mob bare-headed coming from Nawa Bazar side carrying a flag and crying "Ali, Ali", we changed our route, the mob followed us and we were asked by the Policemen of the Chowki Urdu Bazar to go into the Chowki

premises to save our lives. As soon as we got in, the door was shut, the Mohammedan mob threw stones and broke the window panes, etc. On being admitted into the Chowki we saw a Pandit shop-keeper awfully wounded and his clothes covered with mud. There were many Hindus who had received injuries and one Pandit Sham Lal of Chief Electric Engineer's office was seen there wounded, bare-headed and without his coat. He was coming from his office (as he reported) when he was caught, beaten and robbed off his coat and turban.

We were in Chowki for about an hour, when we took a Police constable with us and I reached home quite safe at about 5 p. m.

There I learnt that our house, the only Hindu house in Jammalatta, (house No. 5, Ward No. 7, Mohalla No. 32) had been attacked. Ahad Mazdoor, Razaq Ganai and his son Ahad Ganai, Ahdda Sweeper and his son Amah Sweeper, all of Jammalatta, having cut off the Electric wires from their houses and our house as well, had thrown stones and had attacked our house. Feeling some difficulty in breaking the door of the compound, they had deffered the attack till night fall. When I reached home and hearing our house was not safe, I thought of phoning to the Police and District Magistrate from the Zanana Hospital Station. In the meantime Mr. Eric, our Principal, came to see me. He advised me to leave the house, but I told him that they (the Mohammedans of the Mohalla) had thought of setting fire to our house during the night and that in case we go out, they will attack us again. He went towards Safa Kadal and I with my younger brother towards Maharajganj to arrange for Military patrol during the night. We saw in the way the two Hindu shops upto Ali Kadal turned into waste. In front of the shops we had to walk over the different commodities that had been thrown on the road by the looters in order to waste what was not portable in the shops.

Almost all the Hindu shops from Ali Kadal to Ganj along the roadside were looted. The scene was horrifying. We were told by Pt. Sudershan Koul (A. S. P.) to go to Bagyas Chowki to find Military patrol there. Accordingly we returned and found that in the meantime Mr. Eric had arranged to get the patrol to guard our house.

I gave the above names of the rioters from our Mohalla who had attacked our house, to the Military and they arrested them.

Next day the two Hindu shop-keepers of the locality as mentioned above, requested the Police and the Military to search some houses in our Mohalla and some looted property was found and recovered.

A money-lender Pt. Kash Ram Bhagati of Sehyan for fear of his life and property consulted a Mohammedan leader of the locality, (Qadir Sheikh) regarding the situation. The Sheikh convinced him that he would stand responsible for any trouble that might come to them (Hindus of Sehyan) thence forward. But he would not be responsible for the trouble that might be brought to us by the Mohalla people or outsiders, for we had given the names of so many of their brethren to the Police and Military and had got them arrested.

The District Magistrate was informed accordingly of the impending danger (application registered under Police Camp Maharajganj No. 72 dated 3rd Sawan 1988).

There was quiet upto 27th July 1931 (12th Sawan 1988) *i. e.* Monday afternoon. When Kh. Noor Shah (Revenue Assistant, Enquiry Officer Ward No. 7) came in his car to visit the looted shops of Hindus mentioned above. He threatened them by saying that their statement was a false one and it cannot stand without sufficient evidence. There cannot be any evidence in favour of those poor Hindu shop-keepers from any Hindu, for no Hindu could be expected to be out on spot at that time. While

Mohammedans will not give any evidence in their favour, for even the highly educated men amongst the Mohammedans speak bold lies.

Hitherto there was no application of loot etc. from the Mohammedans of the locality. But when Khawaja Sahib enquired of the few Mohammedans that were on spot whether they had any grievances, and kept on waiting till one of them brought an application that I and my brother had looted him and then he accompanied the applicant on foot to visit his house. Whereas he thought it beneath his dignity to come down at the Hindu shops to show the least sympathy to them. Mohammedans being thus encouraged handed over numerous applications, which he cordially received.

The Hindu shop-keepers, to add to their grief, were asked to attend the enquiry camp at Dewan Bagh which route was very dangerous for them to go by. Whereas the enquiry in the case of Mohammedans was held in their Mahalla, where a crowd of them could assemble and any man could give witness without the least inconvenience.

On Sunday the 2nd August 1931 (18th Sawan 1988) at 3-45 p. m. a neighbour of mine Razaq Ganai abused me from his house. On being asked why he abused me, his son Jalla Ganai showed me his "*Churri*" and threatened me saying "I will cut off your abdomen". And loosening his *Shilwar* he remained naked. The matter was registered at Thana Maharajganj under No. 39, dated 18th Sawan 1988.

On Monday the 3rd August 1931 (19th Sawan 1988), one or two Mohammedans putting down fictitious names on an application requested Khawaja Sahib to search Hindu houses in Sehyaar and Jammalatta. To this Khawaja Sahib agreed indiscriminately. Babu Dewan Chand, Inspector Police, was deputed to search Pt. Prakash Bayoo's house. Nothing of the alleged loss was found in his house. Thereupon the Inspector Police thought it advisable to see the applicants first. He called them one by one before Khawaja Sahib, but none admitted that he had signed the application. The search was therefore deferred.

While Khawaja Sahib was on spot, the Hindu Mohallawallas of Sehyaar and Jammalatta went with a deputation to Khawaja Sahib, but he refused to take our application there and asked us to present the application at the Camp (Dewan Bagh). We accordingly went there, thinking he might have reached there according to his promise (as he was in his car) but to our surprise we could not find him there and we proceeded to the District Magistrate. The application was forwarded by the District Magistrate to the Sub-Inspector Maharajganj Thana, where it was received, along with our verbal statement at 9-30 p. m., insisting Police to search our houses that very night if at all the authorities thought it advisable, otherwise we feared that the Mohammedans might throw any thing from their houses into our premises and claim that as theirs before the Police later on. To this the District Magistrate too had agreed. Besides we sent telegrams to this effect to the Prime Minister, District Magistrate and Inspector General Police. An extra party of six constables was deputed to guard the locality during the night.

Next day, Tuesday the 4th August 1931 (20th Sawan 1988) while I was returning from D. J. Zanana Hospital, with a Dai, who was to attend a labour case in my house, following me. I was caught by Ahmad Ganai of my Mohalla. He placing a bag with its mouth tied on my right shoulder, dealt very severe blows on my left ear and left eye, causing injury, (Medical certificate with the Police). A great mob collected there and I was taken to the Sehyaar Ghat, where Kh. Noor Shah was holding the enquiry, as already referred to above. While Ahmad Ganai was holding the bag on my shoulder with his left hand and I was holding the wrist of his left arm with both of my hands. Aziz Dhobi who had laid a charge against me said in presence of the Sub-Inspector Police Pt. Amar

Chand that the property belonged to him (while the bag was unopened). And he could recognized the contents of the bag and claim them his own without the bag. I wonder how he could foretell about the contents of the bag.

About half an hour after I had reached the Camp the District Magistrate came to the Camp. I explained the situation to him and reminded him of our deputation of the previous evening. He asked Kh. Noor Shah to enquire into the matter and went away. Khawaja Sahib was busy trying the previous 13 cases against me and my brother and was recording evidence in a peculiar way. He would allow the witness to be corrected by the plaintiff every now and then. However the trial had continued like this in my presence for about three quarters of an hour, when a great sensation was noticed amongst the mob and every body in the mob stood up and do the following gentlemen appeared :—

1. Mr. Gulam Nabi Gilkar.
2. Mr. Abdullah, M. Sc.
3. Son of Maulvi Ahmad Ullah and
4. Son of Wakil Abdullah.

They asked the Mohammedans to sit down and not to behave as Hindus have done (ironical). Khawaja Sahib stood up and seated them on chairs. He told them that the Mohammedans themselves spoil their cases, for they are timid and they have not the tact to bring forth the charges and the witness. Mr. Abdullah, M. Sc., replied that they are not timid, but they have been made so. Khawaja Sahib then showed him the files that were before him and asked the Police to show him all the files so that he may see what sort of evidence the Mohammedans produced.

However he began to call the petitioners that had submitted their petitions that day. The first happened to be a Mohammedan lady. She said that her husband was arrested by the Military. Her application was handed over to Mr. Abdullah. Khawaja Sahib convinced her that she should not be anxious; for Mr. Abdullah will see to that himself. There were six more applications, which were gone through and passed on to Mr. Abdullah as not having been properly drafted. Mr. Abdullah advised all these applicants to see him at his Dera at Nawa Bazar where a Munshi kept for the purpose will draft their applications without any charges.

Again Khawaja Sahib pointing towards me said to them, "just wait till the Pandits case will be ready and see how he gives his statement. You will be convinced that he has been caught in the way and the bag placed behind him".

My statement was then recorded and I was sent to the hospital for Medical certificate. After I went to the hospital, the Mohammedans that had collected at Sehya Enquiry Camp surrounded our house and threw stones and brickbats, but the mob was soon dispersed by the Police.

On Tuesday the 6th August 1931 (22nd Sawan 1988) the Mohalla-wallas of Jammalatta brought round Mr. Abdullah etc. to show them our house. The site was examined. So then we are not to guard our life and property against the attack of the Mohammedans of Jammalatta and the neighbouring Mohallas but from the whole Mohammedan community for their leaders have been moved. Since then there is a great agitation in the locality and even the Mohammedan children of the Mohalla threaten us with weapons (*Chhurris*).

The main roads *viz.* Nawa Bazar, Chattabal and Ganzi Khud roads are all reserved for Mohammedans now and especially we cannot move over the roads with safety. Every moment our life and property are in danger.

EXHIBIT No. 76.

**English Translation of the Statement of Jamadar Rattan Singh, 5th K. L. I.
(Witness No. 61).**

He states that the Kashmiri Mohammedans attacked Vicharnag Bazar at about 10 o'clock on the 30th Har 1988. He with N. K. Faqiroo and 12 riflemen at once hastened to that place. The mob began throwing stones etc. on the party, but notwithstanding they (Military party) kept up advancing towards the mob, thereby totally dispersing them. Also 6 men out of this mob, were arrested. Instantly another mob attacked the village Vicharnag from the west. This mob numbered about three thousands strong. The aforesaid party in a lorry at once reached there under his command. The mob dispersed soon after they arrived there. A few minutes after, the third gang numbering about one thousand men attacked the houses of Pandits from the east. The party then went back to the picket position in the lorry. On getting out of the lorry, he ordered N. K. Faqiroo to hasten with his section (8 men to the east and to disperse the mob there and thereby prevent the village from loot etc. Accordingly N. K. Faqiroo marched off his section and he (Jamadar) in the meantime, posted the remaining personnel to go man the picket position so as to secure it against surprise; so that the arrested men might not be snatched away from them and also gave them the necessary orders and instructions to be on their guard etc. After this he with four riflemen, hastened to the east to N. K. Faqiroo. Having reached there he saw that the whole section was completely enveloped by the mob who was trying to snatch off the rifles. He loudly asked the mob to give up the rifles and clear off otherwise fire would be opened but the mob did not hear. Seeing this critical situation he ordered the four riflemen with him to fire "high" one round but to no avail. It proved that the mob is bent upon snatching the rifles and killing the men. He again therefore ordered the men with him to fire "high" one round more and at the same time directed N. K. Faqiroo to order his men to open fire also. The Naick also ordered his men to fire one round but five men only could fire. Thereupon the mob dispersed away. Thus in all thirteen rounds were fired to get rid of the mob.

EXHIBIT No. 77.

**Statement of Lance Naick Sham Singh, C. Company, 5th K. L. I., Group
Commander Dum Kadal Post (Witness No. 62), dated 29th Har 1988.**

He states that about 10 p. m. a mob began to assemble near his post. He asked them several times to disperse, but they did not and in spite of this they continued growing more and more in number and also they began pelting stones on the group. They drew nearer and nearer, so that the group was totally enveloped, and their rifles were caught hold of by the mob, who were trying to snatch them. Every endeavour was made to disengage the rifle, but to no avail. The mob kept up the threatening attitude, throwing brick-bats etc., which caused several injuries to him. Also the Bayonet of Sepoy Tara Chand in this reprisal was damaged. Seeing themselves thus in a harrassing situation, he ordered Sepoys Tara Chand and Anant Ram to fire one round, in order to disperse the mob and free themselves and the rifles. But the mob did not disperse, nor did they quit the rifles. He again ordered the afore-said Sepoys to fire one round more, which led to the dispersal of the mob. Two men were seen falling one of them got up forthwith and ran away, the other was taken away by two or three men out of the mob. He soon after reported the incident to Captain Gauri Datta who came patrolling there.

EXHIBIT No. 78.

**Written Statement of Pandit Kailash Bat of Vicharnag (Witness No. 63),
dated 2nd August 1931.**

I am submitting below a concise statement of the unfortunate occurrence of July 13th, 1931 as desired *vide* order of 14th Sawan 1988 received by me on the 16th Sawan.

On the 13th July last my son Vidh Lal left in the morning at about 9 30 a. m. to attend the Sub-Registrar's Court, Srinagar. In the house there were besides myself my wife aged over 40 years, my two married daughters and their two children, and two unmarried daughters of tender age and also my daughter-in-law Vidha Lal's wife. My younger son aged about 12 years left for attending school at about 10 a. m. I am myself old and infirm being at present about 65 years old.

I have been carrying on banking business for the last 35 years and on this unfortunate date the estimated value of the assets of my firm known as Kothi Kailas But and Sons, both in cash, furniture, pledges, utensils, gold and outstandings etc. were 2 lacs of rupees.

At about 4 p. m. I was in my house when I heard a huge noise of a big mob of thousands of Mohammedans marching towards the locality inhabited by Hindus with cries of loot, Allah-O Akbar and other indescribable cries. There-upon I closed all the doors and windows of my house and also closed the outer gate of my compound and we all sat in the upper-most storey of my house, trying to hide our existence in a corner in the most panic stricken state of helplessness. While there I heard the cry "Let us loot Kailas But"; the mob which had divided itself into batches then combined and made an united invasion on my house. Finding the outer gate closed some of them scaled the wall and having entered the compound the gate was unbolted from within so that the mob rushed in. Having become conscious of the ultimate intentions of the riot I looked out from the upper storey of my house and in the most submissive language entreated them to spare my house and to take pity on my old age and helplessness. I also offered about Rs. 500 hard cash for sparing me. But no entreaty, however pity-ful, no cries of the weeping of women and children succeeded to move their hearts. Their response to all appeals to their sense of mercy, religion and humanity was a volley of the vilest and most abject invective and intimidation. Some of the mob scaled the walls of my house and breaking open the windows they first entered the first storey, then the second and so on till they came to the topmost one where we were shrinking and trembling overpowered with the sense of approaching death.

The details of loot are indescribable. It was all a confusing process of devastation at a lightening speed. They took away all that I had including the bonds and bills of exchange. Among the rioters many who were may debtors took special care to see that my documents and other papers were completely destroyed. They carried away intact fire proof, one iron-safe about 1½ maunds and broke another iron-safe about nine maunds which is still lying on the roadside emptied of all gold, cash and currency notes. They took away all furniture and removed all utensils from the kitchen some of which they took away and the others which could not be used by a Muslim were broken outside merely out of malice. They dug out the floors of my rooms and removed the doors and windows of the various rooms; these they burnt. This was not all. They did not spare the women and children. They took all ornaments from the females, then they emptied their pockets and tore their clothes, thus disgracing them in the most indescribable abject manner. They caught hold of me, tore my garments, my sacred thread and

forcibly robbed off the amount of Rs. 500 above mentioned which I had tied up in my lion cloth. They desecrated my Thakur Dawara, broke the idols there and took away whatever they thought worth taking. The cruel extent of this robbery can better be imagined than described. The worst thief in the world would have been less relentless. Your lordship will better form an idea of the enormous atrocities perpetrated by these miscreants by learning that the very earth was dug out and not a grain of rice, not a blade of vegetables, not a charcoal, in short not anything of use that is to be found in human house was left. While they left all books including the religious scriptures and documents and the other papers which they had siezed were set on fire in the compound. An attempt was made to set the whole house on fire but as other looting enterprises engaged their attention they could not wait to see the house actually catching fire. We then extinguished the little conflagration.

We were left in the house like as if we had been benighted in a Sarai. At about 6-30 p. m. the rioters left my house and then at about 7 p. m. the Military came during which time the mob had been engaged in looting other houses but the dreadful task had by then been completed and succour was of no avail to me. By this time my son Vidh Lal also arrived and ever since my house has been the abode of grief, poverty and starvation. I pray that in the name of justice I may be adequately compensated for all this loss, the miscreants brought to justice and necessary steps may be taken to afford proper protection against such molestation in the future.

The miscreants carrying clubs, hatchets, daggers, axes, and pick axes etc. were mostly my debtors and I can identify them. Had a thorough Police investigation set afoot just after the loot my property could be recovered. Even now I hope that with the aid of a strong and thorough Police investigation some property of mine can be recovered. Unfortunately the attention of the authorities was drawn towards this miserable locality many days after the riot, out of panic and personal danger enroute all along to the city. I shall feel highly obliged if the honourable Commission will condescend to inspect this miserable locality.

A rough detail of property looted and plundered is given in the schedule herewith annexed. Fortunately two current ledgers and some documents of loans have been saved.

فہرست مال نقصان شدہ

در صندوق آہنی کمان	در صندوق آہنی کمان	در صندوق آہنی کمان
کرنسی نوٹس	کرنسی نوٹس	کرنسی نوٹس
۱۰۰۰ روپیہ	۳۵۰۰ روپیہ	۱۰۰۰ روپیہ
ساورن طلا	زیر طلا مندرجات	ساورن طلا
۳۰۰ روپیہ	۳۵۰۰ روپیہ	۳۰۰ روپیہ
۴۵۰۰ روپیہ	۱۰۰۰ روپیہ	۸۰۰ روپیہ
میزان ۵۸۵۰۰	میزان ۵۸۵۰۰	میزان ۵۸۵۰۰
از قسم بستری	از قسم بستری	از قسم بستری
گتہ ہار شدہ ہا	گتہ ہار شدہ ہا	گتہ ہار شدہ ہا
تالین ہا	تالین ہا	تالین ہا
دری ہا	دری ہا	دری ہا
لحاف ہا	لحاف ہا	لحاف ہا
تقریباً	تقریباً	تقریباً
۲۰۰۰ روپیہ	۲۰۰۰ روپیہ	۲۰۰۰ روپیہ
اسباب خانگی از قسم	اسباب خانگی از قسم	اسباب خانگی از قسم
برتن برنجی ہا	برتن برنجی ہا	برتن برنجی ہا
ادنین ہا	ادنین ہا	ادنین ہا
دیگرہ	دیگرہ	دیگرہ
تقریباً	تقریباً	تقریباً
۱۶۰۰ روپیہ	۱۶۰۰ روپیہ	۱۶۰۰ روپیہ
در بانہ کھٹوینی سٹور روم	در بانہ کھٹوینی سٹور روم	در بانہ کھٹوینی سٹور روم
برنج ہا	برنج ہا	برنج ہا
مصالحات روغن تیل	مصالحات روغن تیل	مصالحات روغن تیل
شکر ترین	شکر ترین	شکر ترین
چائے دیگرہ	چائے دیگرہ	چائے دیگرہ
تقریباً	تقریباً	تقریباً
۵۰۰ روپیہ	۵۰۰ روپیہ	۵۰۰ روپیہ
اسباب ٹھاکو صاحب	اسباب ٹھاکو صاحب	اسباب ٹھاکو صاحب
تمام معہ ٹھاکو صاحب	تمام معہ ٹھاکو صاحب	تمام معہ ٹھاکو صاحب
نقصان مکان در سچہ ہا	نقصان مکان در سچہ ہا	نقصان مکان در سچہ ہا
در وازہ ہا	در وازہ ہا	در وازہ ہا
الماری ہا	الماری ہا	الماری ہا
ایوان ہا	ایوان ہا	ایوان ہا
دیگرہ	دیگرہ	دیگرہ
تقریباً	تقریباً	تقریباً
۵۰۰ روپیہ	۵۰۰ روپیہ	۵۰۰ روپیہ
در الماری ہا	در الماری ہا	در الماری ہا
چوبین از قسم کاغذی	چوبین از قسم کاغذی	چوبین از قسم کاغذی
روزنامہ جات	روزنامہ جات	روزنامہ جات
تمام دکھاتہ جات	تمام دکھاتہ جات	تمام دکھاتہ جات
سابقہ معہ گرویات تمام ڈائری ہا	سابقہ معہ گرویات تمام ڈائری ہا	سابقہ معہ گرویات تمام ڈائری ہا
وڈیپی کتب ہا	وڈیپی کتب ہا	وڈیپی کتب ہا
دیگرہ	دیگرہ	دیگرہ
کاغذات جو کہ جلائے گئے ہیں	کاغذات جو کہ جلائے گئے ہیں	کاغذات جو کہ جلائے گئے ہیں
ماسوائے یہی کھاتہ رواں جو کہ	ماسوائے یہی کھاتہ رواں جو کہ	ماسوائے یہی کھاتہ رواں جو کہ
بندہ نے معہ چند ترسکات کے	بندہ نے معہ چند ترسکات کے	بندہ نے معہ چند ترسکات کے
عدالت پر لئے گئے	عدالت پر لئے گئے	عدالت پر لئے گئے

Total = Rs one lakh twenty three thousands two hundred and fifty 1,23,250/-
Kailas Bhutti vicharnagh
By vidh dal

EXHIBIT No. 79.

**Written Statement of Pandit Vidh Lal son of Pandit Kailash Ram, Bankers
Vicharnag (Witness No. 64), dated 14th August 1931.**

I am submitting below a concise statement of the unfortunate occurrence of July 13th, 1931 as desired *vide* order of 14th Sawan 1988 received ny me on the 16th Sawan.

On the 13th July last I left my home at Vicharnag at about 9-30 a. m. in order to attend the Sub-Registrar's Court at Srinagar where I had to see a sale-deed registered. I was therefore away from my home on this fateful day leaving behind me in the house my aged father, my mother, my four sisters—2 married and two unmarried—my wife and my younger brother of tender age, two children of the married sisters. What they directly witnessed is of course beyond my knowledge but, I shall attempt to state below a brief narrative of what befel me and what I saw when I reached my home.

At about 2 p. m. there was a general commotion in the Court and in the city. By and by the rumour gained strength that the Central Jail had been stormed, that fire had been opened, that the mob proceeded towards Maharajganj and that looting had started at Bhuri-Kadal and Maharajganj. These and such other wild news flew about and a state of intense panic overtook me. I came down from the Court to Narparistan—between 2nd Bridge and 3rd Bridge—to a chemists' shop where I left my bicycle and ledgers and some documents. All along the bazar there was panic. Muslims in batches were moving about, crying inauspicious cries about Hindus and the Maharaja. Then I began to think of my home and went back to Amira Kadal in order to engage a car or a lorry. I however got a tonga and I and another companion Pt. Ram Nath Koul of Vicharnag got up on the tonga. It was about 4 p. m. We were naturally quite anxious to reach our homes and see our parents, but at the same time we were alive to the dangers enroute. We then proceeded *via* Nasim Bagh road. When we reached near Sada Kadal a group of Mohammedans stopped our tonga and cried out "Offer *niyaz*"—an offering at a shrine—or else we shall kill you; I told them that I would give "*niaz*". I then gave them Rs. 5 and then they let us go. Proceeding further, we reached Ashai Bagh where another group of Mohammedans stopped our tonga and orderd us to empty our pockets. On finding that we had no money left, they demanded our clothing, on pain of immediate death. I began to undress myself, seeing that there could be no better alternative. Some of the men thereupon took pity on our destitute and panic stricken state and ordered us to fly.

We then proceeded from Ashai Bagh to Nasim Bagh. There we got down from the tonga and proceeded towards our homes on foot. In the fields near about Mahiwara, near Pt. Rugh Nath Mattoo's garden one Mohammedan met us. He said that we were probably going to Vicharnag. We admitted this and then he said "Don't go to Vicharnag"; "there looting etc. is going on and you will be killed". We could not fully appreciate the accuracy of this warning and partly out of this indecision and partly out of our eagerness to reach home we proceeded through fields on foot. We then reached Vanta Bhavan. There we heard the huge noise and clash of looting etc. at Vicharnag. I however encountered a Mohammedan debtor who seeing me in panic wept over my condition and gave us shelter in his house. In the meanwhile Mohammedans were passing along. Our host advised us to disguise ourselves in order to avert immediate danger. This we tried to do. Then a woman came and said that all Pandits of Vicharnag had assembled in Rafiz Bagh—which was only about 200 yards distant from the house—designed to tempt us out of our present safe abode. We therefore started to join them in the said Bagh. We were crossing the fields and were approaching one end of

the Rafiz Bagh, when I chanced to look back, I saw some Mohammedans with hatchets, clubs and other deadly weapons running towards us. We then realised their intentions and simply for our life, we ran back to Vanta Bhavan. There we entreated another Mohammedan to grant us a shelter. This being granted, we took refuge in his house for some time. Some of my debtors in the meantime came there and gave me great comfort and took us to one of their houses. There we stayed till about 7 p. m. and in the meantime I arranged through a Mohammedan debtor to convey the message of my safety and whereabouts to my home.

Then one Pandit and one Mohammedan came from Vicharnag and assuring me that the Military had arrived and looting had stopped asked us to come there. Then we went to Vicharnag and I reached my home.

The miserable detail of devastation in my home is inestimable and unspeakable. It brings tears to the most hard-hearted to see the actually ruined state of our house. Everything has been taken away. Not even food stuffs have been spared. There I saw lying outside the big nine maunds iron-safe broken open with stones and hammers and emptied. I witnessed the huge conflagration of doors, windows books and papers etc. in the open on the roadside and the compound. My parents, my sisters and all were left utterly destitute and panic stricken, deprived of all ornaments and personal things. In the rooms the floor had been dug out, the electric fittings damaged, the inset mirrors on the walls broken and incalculable damage done. I have however tried to make a rough list of the looted property attached herewith as appendix A. On that day in the evening Kh. Noor Shah accompanied by Mr. B. N. Pestonjee came in a car and saw our condition and the fire still smouldering outside our house and in the compound. The next day one Sub-Inspector and Pt. Rugh Nath Mattoo, Tahsildar, came. The third day Sub-Registrar came. On the fifth day Mr. Wakefield came and turned back from Newshehra without condescending to visit the scenes of loot.

As no officer came on the spot and no action was taken we approached all the Ministers except Mr. Wakefield and then came the Governor and the D. I. G. Police and I. G. Police and City Magistrate, A. D. M. many days after. The most deplorable aspect of this matter is that no thorough Police investigation was instituted, no searches were made and no arrests effected soon after the occurrence. Much of our property could be recovered. Most of our plunderers could be identified but alas we seem to have been neglected. For several days we were confined to our homes for fear of death.

For one or two months past I have been apprehending some sort of danger owing to frequent meetings at S. M. Abdulla's house at Soyra and at other places at Newshehra. But I believed that the Government would be alive to the situation and measures would be enforced to maintain law and order. I am also driven from the facts that as Abdulla's brothers are my debtors, that Abdulla's brother was arrested at Vicharnag on spot, during the riot and that my house was, immediately, after the trouble at Srinagar, looted to this conclusion that there have been some connections between Abdulla and the loot at Vicharnag.

In conclusion I pray that for this organised loot, the loss suffered by me may be made good by realising the full amount as indemnity from the people in the suburbs of Vicharnag who had all joined in this plunder and punitive Police stations may be installed enroute from Vicharnag to Srinagar to ensure the safety of our lives and property. Further adequate measures may also be taken to ensure our protection against similar invasions in future pending decision of the indemnity. I pray that immediate pecuniary relief may be granted to me by the Government and all Court-fees and other fees chargeable in suits and proceedings pertaining to my business may be excused otherwise it will be impossible for me to live and carry on.

Appendix "A"

در صندوق آہنی	در صندوق آہنی کمال	در الماری چوبین	در کمرہ طبقہ دوم
نقدی	نقدی نوٹس	گرویات از قسم پشمینہ - رفل	گرویات از قسم چادری با دو برتن
۱۰۰۰ روپیہ	۳۵۰۰۰ روپیہ	ایکراڈری - چرو پشمینہ - دو پشمینہ	سی با رو غیرہ
سورن طلا	تقریباً	شال با - جانور با - وغیرہ وغیرہ	تقریباً
۳۰۰	۳۵۰۰۰ روپیہ	تقریباً	۱۲۰۰ روپیہ
۴۵۰۰ روپیہ		۱۳۰۰۰ روپیہ	
زبور طلا	ہندویات متعلقات		
بلا قیمت تقریباً	۸۰۰۰ روپیہ		
۱۰۰۰ روپیہ			
از قسم بستر	اسباب خانگی از قسم	در الماری چوبین اسباب خانگی	از کونٹار
گہ - بندہ - قالین - درمی - باغاف برتن - با برنجی	داغنی با وغیرہ وغیرہ	از قسم فقرہ - تنالی با نکاس با پیالہ	شالی تقریباً پچاس خردار
کھین با تکیہ با وغیرہ وغیرہ تقریباً	تقریباً	وچھہ با وغیرہ وغیرہ تقریباً	۲۵۰ روپیہ
۴۰۰۰ روپیہ	۲۰۰۰ روپیہ	۱۵۰۰ روپیہ	
اسباب ٹھاکور صاحب تمام	در بانہ کھوئیے room	اسباب چوبین از قسم میز با - کرسی با	
مہہ ٹھاکور صاحب	برنج با - مصالجات - روغن تیل	از قسم پشمینہ نیم ریشم - سلک پارچہ زربفت	چارپائی با - چرخہ با وغیرہ وغیرہ
	شکر ترین چائے وغیرہ وغیرہ	کھواب - رفل - لٹچہ - سرند با - چادری	تقریباً
	تقریباً	سکہ پشو با - لونگی شمل وغیرہ وغیرہ تقریباً	۱۵۰ روپیہ
	۵۰۰ روپیہ	۶۰۰ روپیہ	
نقصان مکان در سچہ با	وال کلاک	صندوق آہنی	در الماری چوبین از قسم کاغذی
دروازہ با و الماری با - ایران با	۲ عدد	۲ عدد	روزنامہ چہ جات تمام و کھاتہ جات
وغیرہ وغیرہ	۵۰ روپیہ	۲۰۰ روپیہ	سابقہ تمام و کھاتہ جات گرویات
تقریباً			تمام ڈائری با - مذہبی کتب با وغیرہ
۵۰۰ روپیہ			وغیرہ کاغذات تمام با سوائے
			بہی کھاتہ دو عدد جو کہ بندہ نے مہہ
			چند دستاویزات کے عدالت پر
			ساتھ لئے تھے - جلائے گئے

Total property looted and plundered Rs 1,23,250/-
one lakh twenty three thousands two hundred and
fifty.

EXHIBIT No. 80.

Statement of Vicharnag Hindus (Witness No. 65).

We the Hindus of Vicharnagh most respectfully beg to lay the following in connection with throwing some light on the causes that led the Mohammedans of the surrounding Mohallas of Vicharnag to the villanous action taken by them in the way of making attempts to upset the present Government and establish their own Government in the State.

The family of S. M. Abdullah the leader and creator of the unpleasant situation in Kashmir led the riot against the Srinagar Shiahhs same 60 years back. At Sovra the residence of S. M. Abdullah, meetings were being held for the last three months on the days he visited his house from Srinagar where he had put up temporarily for the last few months. The people of Nowshehra, Sovra, Anchar and Awantibatan were always present at their meetings. The proceedings of the meetings of the Mohammedan leaders such as G. A. Ashai, Dr. Abdul Wahid, 2 Mir Waizes, Mohammad Abdullah Vakil at Srinagar were communicated to these people by S. M. Abdullah and his brothers. The meetings were also being held at Nowshehra in this connection. He aroused their spirits by disclosing to them that Mr. Wakefield, the important Minister of the State and the right hand of His Highness was at their back in these matters. As a result of these meetings, the uneducated persons used to give out to the public that soon Mohammedans will hold all the responsible posts of the Government.

On the 29th Har 1988/13th July 1931 two Mohammedans on bicycles came to Nowshehra and Sovra. They were followed by a few Mohammedans in a car, on the arrival of which gangs were struck in the mosque both at Nowshehra and Sovra. The Mohammedans of the farther villages, who had already reached the neighbouring villages where they awaited the signal for the ensuing loot and plunder of the Hindu shops and house at Nowshehra and Vicharnag. On hearing the gong which continued ringing for a long time they assembled at Nowshehra and plundered Hindu shops at Nowshehra one by one. They burnt their documents and ledgers and carried away hard cash and shopstores. Not satisfied with this they proceeded to Vicharnag where they looted and plundered the houses of the traders first taking away hard cash, ornaments and household property, mortgaged articles and burning documents and ledgers with windows and doors and less valuable articles. The holy scriptures were desecrated and burnt. The males of the houses were thrashed and females insulted to such a degree which cannot be put in black and white. They were bent on looting the whole Mohalla, setting the houses on fire and massacring the lives of after they had removed every pie from the houses. After they had completely looted traders' houses Military force and Police arrived here and thus the rest of the houses were saved.

For some days after the occurrence of this dacoity the Police was about to take the investigation in hand when Mr. Wakefield came to Nowshehra. Under his verbal orders the activities of the Police in making investigation practically ceased. Before his visit to Nowshehra the Mohammedans were prepared to return the looted property of their own accord but refused doing so after his visit. Mr. Wakefield did not care to pay a visit to see the harrowing scenes at Vicharnag.

EXHIBIT No. 81.

**Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Budhi Prakash, Delhi Wala,
through Sanatan Dharam Sabha (Witness No. 66).**

I, in company of four of five other men, went to the shop of Lala Ram Ditta Mal in Maharajganj to purchased some goods at about 10 p. m., we thought of sending the purchased articles by Postal Parcel. Just at that time many Kashmiri Muslims passed by speaking louder "shut up the shops, shut up the shops". Upon this the Mohammedan shop-keepers began to close their shops and the Hindus began to safe-guard their goods. On this we thought of returning home. We had hardly moved a few paces when we saw a mob advancing towards the Post Office. We ascended the shop of a Blanket Merchant Pandit. We noticed that three or four *charpoys* of the wounded were being carried by the mob. A blood-stained cloth was being carried aloft in front of the procession. Some people were kissing the cloth and some touching their forehead with it. The mob was shouting "Harisingh Murda Bad", "Wakefield Zinda Bad". Some were crying "Harisingh Dafa, Wakefield Raja". We were listening to these slogans when the stones-throwing started and a cap of the hubble-bubble (Chilam) was thrown upon me. Then we closed the doors of the shop but the stones continued to come in. We were upset and the Pandit shop-keeper began to read a paper "Tej" which I had got with me. Meanwhile a loud noise was heard and the Lathi charge started near the Post Office. Men, women and children were seen carrying away fearlessly Saris, Doshalas, Carpets in packages, just at that time, we heard a loud noise from the Post Office. We asked the Pandit shop-keeper about it. In reply he began to weep. We consoled him. The mob left the Post Office and we heard the noise of breaking locks. We thought of escaping but we could not escape. Immediately a lorry arrived and the people who were taking away the looted property ran away. The looting stopped for 5 or 7 minutes but began again and lasted for about 2 to 2½ hours. The carelessness of the Government was unaccountable in our opinion. Shortly after a few Military men with a Sahib with a hat on arrived in a lorry. They stopped near the Post Office, we all came down atonce and addressed him that we were foreigners and had come to purchase some goods and that we should be saved. The Sahib took us in the lorry and proceeded towards Maharajganj. The lorry was stopped outside the Ganj and the Military men alighted from it. We also did the same. There we saw a broken car. The looted people surrounded the Sahib on all sides and began to weep saying they had been plundered. Some people abused Dr. Abdul Wahid. A European officer also came in a car. The people said that he was Wakefield. He stayed there for a short time, spoke something to the above mentioned officer and returned. The Military men were asked to recover the looted property at the identification of the Hindu shop-keepers and store it up at one place. The offenders were being arrested when we left for our destination and came back about 7 p. m.

EXHIBIT No. 82.

Brief of the Written Statement of Chandra Bhanu (Witness No. 67).

The original being in Hindi the brief of the statement is as under :—

He is an eye witness to the looting by mob at Maharajganj on the first day of the outbreak of the riot. Mob was shouting "Harisingh Dafa", "Wakefield Raja", "Harisingh Murda Bad", "Wakefield Zinda Bad".

(b) On hearing the alarm to close shops before the arrival of the mob the Muslims were writing on their doors (Yeh Musalman Ki Dukan Hai), as if they knew it already that only non-Muslim shops were to be looted.

(c) Even Mohammedan women and Mohammedan boys were seen taking away looted goods to their houses.

EXHIBIT No. 83.

Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Abdul Majid, dismissed Clerk of the office of the Director General of Agriculture and Co-operation (Witness No. 69), dated 19th August 1931.

See me first.

I had no intention of giving evidence before the Commission. It was not due to any personal grudge against the learned members of the Commission, but it was based on the vote of no confidence passed by the Muslim community, against the Commission. I being a member of this oppressed and backward community was bound to abide by the decision. But the evidence recorded by the Commission especially that of Pandit Gwasha Lal, B. A., which is totally false and which has been published by the Hindu Press under strange and attractive headings, compelled me to change my determination and obliged me to offer myself to contradict the facts deposed by him. I was not an eye witness of the sad happenings of the 13th of July and afterwards. My statement therefore does not relate to the events. I shall show the real causes of the disturbances. May God help me in giving the true facts.

Historical Statement of Sir Albion Banerjee.

Sir Albion Banerjee, the well-known Politician of India, remained in charge of the Foreign and Political portfolio of the Kashmir Government for two or three years. Afterwards he resigned. I need not go into the details of the resignation. But soon after his resignation he issued an important statement regarding the Mohammedans of the Kashmir State to the representative of the Associated Press. It was based on his personal observation and experience. This statement is a historical document. It was for the first time that the Foreign countries came to know of the real state of the oppressed Kashmiri Muslims. Sir Albion Banerjee described them as "dumb driven cattle". These words were not ordinary ones. These words produced great sensation in India and the Kashmir Government also felt perturbed. The Government therefore tried to have this statement of Sir Albion Banerjee, refuted by its Muslim subjects. Aga Syed Hussain Sahib, the then Judge High Court was specially deputed to achieve this object. He invited the leading members of the Anjuman at his house to tea. They were asked to rebut the said statement. They being Government employees or pensioners were ready to carry out the order. But Mistri Yaqub Ali declared openly that they would not give any definite opinion in the matter, without referring to the public. Accordingly a public meeting was held by the Anjuman Islamia Jammu to consider this. But all present there opposed the proposal, which was ultimately dropped. Aga Sahib however succeeded to get a statement from a few Toady Muslims who wanted to please the Government. He then proceeded to Srinagar but there also he failed. At this time Mr. Wattal was Minister-in-Waiting. The above facts clearly show that the Muslims realised their helpless and miserable plight but could not utter a word in their favour on account of the fear of the Hindu officials of the State. Secretly the statement of Sir Albion Banerjee was

rebutted but the Anjuman dare not do it publicly. General Samunder Khan and late Sh. Abdul Aziz both went to Mr. Wattal to request him to have a few demands of the Muslims granted by His Highness to console the community. Mr. Wattal asked them to bring their demands in writing for laying before His Highness and to wait in a deputation upon His Highness. This was done. But Mr. Wattal true to his creed of a Mahasabhaist, never laid these demands before His Highness. Probably he feared that the demands would be granted. In those very days the Muslim Outlook and Siasat News papers were proscribed for writing in support of what Sir Albion Banerjee had said. These events produced political consciousness among the Muslims of Kashmir and created mistrust against the Government, the members of which were mostly Hindus. Then comes the next stage of the political awakening of the Muslims of Kashmir, which requires to be dealt with in elaborate details.

2nd stage and the matter of Srinagar Municipality.

It is an admitted fact that the condition of Mohammedans in every phase of life is extremely bad. This is exhibited prominently in the matter of public services. In spite of the fact that Muslims in the State are 77 per cent. of the whole population, their share in the service is not even 2 per cent., I can prove the statement by giving facts and figures. On account of this disproportion a few posts, that were vacant in Srinagar Municipality, were advertised and applications were invited from Muslims only; as soon as this advertisement appeared, the Hindu Press and numerous Hindu Sabhas took objection to it and started a campaign against it. They sent telegrams to His Highness to request that communalism should not be introduced in the services. The Kashmiri Pandits went so far as to say that if services were to be granted to Muslims only, they would embrace Islam. This agitation had the desired effect and His Highness issued orders that communal considerations should not count in the matter of services. The effect of this on Muslims was that they also thought of securing their demands. This was also pointed to them by a patriotic Muslim through the columns of the newspaper "Inqilab" who laid stress on the disproportionate share of the Muslims in the services. His Highness had to go to England to attend the Round Table Conference. He appointed a Cabinet of four Members namely Mr. Wakefield, Mr. Wattal, General Janak Singh and Thakar Kartar Singh to carry on the administration in his absence. The "Inqilab" objected to the personnel of the Cabinet, stating that as Muslims were in a majority in the State there should have been at least one, if not more, Muslim Member in the Cabinet. The Recruiting Board was similarly constituted. The rules framed for recruitment were such as could not suit the Muslims for the following reasons:—

(1) First of all there was no Muslim Member on the Board. (2) The age limit was fixed at 21 to 23 years. (3) Arabic was excluded from the subjects whereas Sanskrit was included and (4) entry fee was fixed at Rs. 25. The "Inqilab" again wrote an article against the constitution and rules of the above Board in which it was expressly stated that by God's grace there was no deficiency of educated Mohammedans who were persistently requesting His Highness for employments. All was being done to deprive Muslims of their rights. This was the out-come of Mr. Wattal's brain. Mr. Wattal was fully aware of the short comings of Mohammedans. Mostly the educated young Muslims are above the age limit fixed. They are unable to pay rupees 25 as fee.

Also the exclusion of Arabic meant an attack on the religious sentiments of Muslims. All this was done under a combined conspiracy of Hindu officers against Muslims. When Inqilab pointed out in its columns regarding awfull trape laid by such men as Mr. Wattal, Thakar Kartar Singh, and Ram Chand Kak, etc., the Muslims Youngmen's Association Jammu, in a public meeting, held that it had no confidence in the Cabinet, Recruitment Board and the present administration of the Government.

The educated Muslims of Kashmir, under the leadership of Mr. S. M. Abdulla, M. sc., also declared that these tactics were being employed to deprive Muslims of their rights. The result of this was that the Inqilab was proscribed. This action made still more clear to Muslims, the anti-Muslim policy followed by the Cabinet. This manifested itself also in the appointment of a Hindu Principal in preference to a highly qualified Mohammedan and in the grant of the monopoly of silk weaving to a Hindu firm.

The main feature of about 80 articles published in the 'Inqilab' was that nothing was ever written against His Highness. But His Highness was highly praised. Mohammedans were never instigated to rise in a rebellion. They were asked to proceed constitutionally and not to distort any fact. In spite of the repeated challenges, Government could not refute the facts stated in the columns of the newspapers that no Hindu officer was ever denounced simply because he was a Hindu, though many Muslim officers were run down for their being traitors to the community *i. e.* K. S. Aga Syed Hussain, K. B. Sh. Abdul Qayoom and Khalifa Abdul Rahim. It was gross injustice to proscribe the "Inqilab" and take no action against the Hindu papers that indulged in attacking Muslims. This added to their grievances and the Muslims realised that the Hindu officials did not like to hear even their faint voice. It is worth while to mention here that there are only 4 daily Muslim papers in the Punjab, out of which three have been proscribed by the Government. All this happened in pursuance of a conspiracy which seems to be formulated by three great personages of the State, *viz.* Thakur Kartar Singh, Mr. Wattal and Pandit Ram Chand Kak. Mr. Wakefield was a puppet in the hands of the said persons. For counter propaganda Thakur Kartar Singh against whom the "Inqilab" had written bitterly and who was being criticised strongly by different Mohammedan Societies, took in his service, Pandit Gwasha Lal a representative of Hindu papers. Articles against Mr. Wakefield, Khan Abdul Majid Khan and Major Ram Prashad Dube began to appear and were published by him in the press in India. It was to turn out Mr. Dube and to make room for Thakur Kartar Singh. In the "Princely India" of 21st February 1931 an article by Pandit Gwasha Lal was published to the effect that the agitation set up by the "Inqilab" and the Youngmen's Muslim Association was the result of a conspiracy. The present agitation of the Hindu Press and the Hindu community against Mohammedans is the retreating echo of the above article. There is not a particle of truth in this allegation. Thakur Kartar Singh played another trick to make himself popular among the Mohammedans. He got a book "Disclosure of the truth" (Inkishaf-i-Haqiqat) published by one unknown person Abdul Haq Dogra, which praises Thakur Sahib and makes mention of His Highness and Mr. Wakefield. A reward of Rs. 1,000 was given to the writer. After thorough study of the facts, the Youngmen's Muslim Association determined to lead the Mohammedans. Here the 2nd stage of the political awakening of the Mohammedans comes to an end and begins the third stage in which happened the present sad events.

3rd Stage.

An addition of a chapter takes place in the History of the Kashmir. As I have mentioned above, the Mohammedans had been struggling for their rights and the Government officials were kicking them off. His Highness was away to England. Muslims therefore could do nothing but to wait for the return of His Highness patiently. This they did. On the arrival of His Highness from Europe, the Muslims gave ample proof of their natural and traditional loyalty by submitting to him telegrams of congratulations and felicitations. They had fervent hopes that His Highness would listen to them. But Thakur Kartar Singh formed another conspiracy by instigating the Rajput Sabha to start propaganda against Muslim demands. The Rajput Sabha started a vigorous propaganda through press and platform and

gave it communal colouring. Allegations were made that the desire of the Muslims was to dethrone His Highness and establish Muslim Raj. These facts were told to me by Gwasha Lal, who told me that he had given in writing to Mr. Wakefield that all that he had written in the press against Mr. Wakefield, had been written at the instigation of Thakur Kartar Singh, whose paid servant he was and that he would not give such like articles in the press in future.

Other Hindu Sabhas followed the Rajput Sabha and tried to create communal disturbances so that the demands of Muslims may not be accepted. But at this stage also the Muslims who are naturally peace-loving, kept aloof, whereas the Dogras, through the press and the platform threatened them of their sword repeatedly. When they saw that the Mohammedans did not care in the least, they started another trick to excite the Muslims by interfering in their religion. The proposed scheme was carried out through Choudhri Ram Chand, D. I. G. who through his subordinates prohibited the reciting of *Khutba* on Id. Then came the defilement of the holy Quran. In spite of all this, the Muslims remained peaceful till the Kashmir Government invited a Mohammedan deputation. The deputation was not allowed to see His Highness on its arrival at Srinagar and they were told that Hindu-Muslim differences must be first made up. The deputation replied that they never raised that question. I now quote facts and figures in support of my statement.

Police Department.

Out of the 18 Gazetted posts in this department, only two are held by Mohammedans. The office of the Inspector-General of Police is full of Hindus. Leaving aside the posts of clerks, even the posts of peons are reserved for Hindus only and not a single Mohammedan has been allowed. Similar is the case of the C. I. D. Branch and the Traffic Branch under the control of the D. I. G. Out of 17 Inspectors of Police only one is a Mohammedan. From the above it can well be ascertained what harrowing tales would have been invented by this department against the Mohammedans. The undersigned has also fallen a victim of the above mentioned tales.

Public Works Department.

This department consists of 20 Gazetted posts, out of which only one is a Mohammedan, who has recently joined his office. Out of 30 clerks in the office of Chief Engineer not even one is a Mohammedan.

Electric Department.

None of the Gazetted or clerical posts is held by the Mohammedans in the whole of the department.

Customs and Excise.

None of the Gazetted officers is a Mohammedan. The office of the Inspector-General of Customs and Excise is the monopoly of Hindus. Out of 21 Deputy Inspector Customs, only one is a Mohammedan and only Assistant Inspectors are Mohammedans.

Muslim Demands.

I have already expressed that the present unrest among Muslims can easily be removed by accepting the Muslims demands. It is therefore necessary for me to lay them before you in brief. I have culled these demands from various newspapers. It is just possible that there may be other demands as well:—

- (1) Freedom of the Muslim press and platform may be granted subject to the respecting of the law of the land.

- (2) Restrictions on the entry of Muslim leaders may be removed.
- (3) An Assembly may be constituted.
- (4) The Mohammedans may be granted at least 75 per cent. of the services.
- (5) The Land Revenue may be reduced.
- (6) The Zamindars may be granted the proprietary rights.
- (7) Concessions similar to those that have been granted to Gaddies may be granted to Mohammedan Bakarwals.
- (8) Complete religious freedom may be assured.
- (9) Mohammedan students may be admitted in the Military Training School.
- (10) The Mohammedans may be recruited in the Cavalry and Body Guard.
- (11) The Government should solve the question of labour.

Conclusion.

Before concluding I beg to be excused for saying a few words about myself—I was a clerk in the office of the Director General of Agriculture and Co-operation. On the 11th August 1931 I was dismissed on the alleged charge of taking part in politics. The above treatment has been meted out to me on the basis of C. I. D. reports. As a matter of fact I am neither a member of any Association nor do I take part in politics or deliver speeches. I have been dismissed because I am a Muslim and Hindu officers do not like to have a Muslim servant in the State. This is why disaffection towards the Government is increasing among the Muslims. The time has come, and the Government should graciously admit the Muslim demands, so as to reconcile the Muslims otherwise there is a possibility of the outburst of the storm.

EXHIBIT No. 84.

Written Statement of Brigadier R. O. Sutherland (Witness No. 70).

The opinion I had at the time (13th July 1931) was that the trouble was not preplanned nor was it simultaneous.

The mob composed of Mohammedans had tried to break into prison, had stoned the Police and tried to set fire to the Police quarters, which forced the Police to fire on them which caused casualties.

This infuriated and excited the Mohammedans who became out of hand.

This was confirmed by the report of a Bhagat who acted as spokesman, when explaining the events of the 13th July to Mr. Wakefield, whom I accompanied many times during our visits to the city and surroundings during the week 13th to 19th July.

According to the Bhagat (name unknown) two *charpoys* with two wounded Mohammedans were brought to Maharajganj to the Civil Dispensary and afterwards taken to the private dispensary, which was directly under the Police Chowki at about 2-30 p. m. on the 13th July.

It was here that Dr. Abdul Wahid called on the mob of Mohammedans saying "this is the time to loot the Hindus" which they evidently did right well, judging from the state of shops.

The time also coincides with my opinion that the shooting at the Jail must have taken place a little before 2 p. m. The feelings of the Mohammedans at first were evidently against the Government, but during and after the 13th it became a communal one.

13th July 1931.

I was summoned to Karn Bagh at 1 o'clock on the 13th instant for Flood Committee Meeting. At about 1-45 p. m. His Highness sent for me and informed me that there was a riot at the Central Jail. He told me to telephone at once to the Body Guard Lancers and tell them to get ready and that I should go personally to the Badami Bagh Barracks and inform 80 men to be ready and lorries would be sent for them. I then proceeded home and changed into uniform. I must have left my house at about 2-30 p. m. in my Motor Car and passed the squadron at the Dal Gate. On arrival at Kathi Darwaza I noticed a good number of people about. The squadron arrived very shortly after I did. I ordered two troops to Central Jail and I proceeded with one troop to clear the *maidan*. There I discovered two wounded men who had both been shot in the thigh. I gave orders to the Sowars that they must be taken to the Prison Hospital. We proceeded to the end of the *maidan* telling the men to clear off. The whole crowd were in a very excited state and said that many had been killed. I then proceeded back to the Kathi Darwaza where I met Mr. Wakefield and we both proceeded towards the Prison. On arrival at the Prison at about 3 o'clock I noticed that a lot of the Policemen's kit boxes were lying about and also a lot of stones scattered inside the Jail courtyard. The Governor came out of the Jail on Mr. Wakefield's approach and informed Mr. Wakefield of the situation. I saw the Fire Brigade there and was told that the mob had set fire to the Lines which the Fire Brigade had extinguished. Mr. Wakefield ordered me to proceed to Nauhatta and the Police Station Maharajganj. City Magistrate Sat Lal was deputed on duty with me. We proceeded towards the city crossing the open *maidan* near Kathi Darwaza. There was still a crowd hanging about who were told to disperse towards their homes. They began to move off. Proceeding to the city we entered Nauhatta. At the other end of the Nauhatta we found some Hindu shops have been looted. Moving on we saw the both sides of the Bhuri Kadal Bazar shops looted. Further on we crossed the Zana Kadal and arrived at Thana Maharajganj. Enroute we noticed that the Mohammedans shops had not been looted. We called out the Police at Maharajganj Station who reported that they had been assailed by a great crowd and so were forced to shut their gates. We then went *via* Tashawan and crossed Fateh Kadal and went back to Bhuri Kadal and thence *via* Nauhatta to Juma Masjid. There was a tremendous crowd round the Masjid and it is reported to me that there were forty dead inside the Masjid. I asked that the Maulvi should be brought out to speak to me but the messenger said that the crowd would not allow the Maulvi to come out. The crowd was in a very excited state shouting and yelling and then began to throw stones at us. I ordered two Sections to charge the crowd which was nearest us. This they did and temporarily dispersed the crowd without causing any harm. We then went *via* Nauhatta and Bhuri Kadal to Maharajganj. We found the City Munsif and a Van Lorry of Police at Maharajganj. Passing through the bazar we found that most of the shops on the outside of the Chowk had been looted. There was also a Motor Car which has been smashed by rocks and stones. We then proceeded to Ali Kadal enroute we found that the Hindu shops had only been looted. We then proceeded *via* Bulbul-lankar, Nawa Kadal, Khankah Sokhta to Safa Kadal. At Safa Kadal a shop had been looted and we came upon some men and boys who were carrying the loot. On seeing us they ran away. We went on towards the Safa Kadal Bridge and thence to the Sarai. Here a

lorry full of soldiers had arrived and I ordered them to take charge of the Sarai and patrol the road on both sides of the bridge for about 600 yards. From the Fire Brigade Station at Safa Kadal I got telephonic communication with Mr. Wakefield at Ram Nivas and informed him that there was a large and excited crowd outside the Juma Masjid and that it was reporting there were 40 dead inside the mosque, and I consider the situation some-what critical. This must have been I think about 6 p. m. From here I split up my force into two parties, one proceeding *via* Chhattabal to meet us at Nawa-bazar and the other I took *via* Zenana Hospital Road. On the way between Nawa Kadal and Ali Kadal two shops had been looted. At Ali Kadal we heard many complaints from Hindus that they had been beaten and looted. We proceeded on to Nawa-bazar *via* Gurgari Mohalla where I joined my other troop who reported that 2 or 3 Hindu shops in Baggayas Bazar had been looted. We then proceeded to Fateh Kadal *via* Tashawan, crossing the bridge we went *via* Habba Kadal to Gao Kadal. Enroute between Ahalmar and Gao Kadal we found a very excited crowd of Hindus and Mohammedans and so I left a patrol to keep order. It may here be noted that at various places enroute I left Sowars to keep order and patrol the roads. From Gao Kadal we came to Amira Kadal where the situation was quite quiet. I went personally to report the situation to His Highness at Ram Nivas.

14th July 1931.

At 5-30 a. m. I ordered Colonel Rahmatullah Khan, Colonel Ghansar Singh and City Magistrate to proceed to the Juma Masjid because the corpses had been collected in the Juma Masjid and trouble was feared when they would be taken for burial. At about 7-45 a. m. I received the telephone message from Colonel Ghansar Singh stating that neither the District Magistrate nor any Police officers were at the Juma Masjid and that there was a large crowd coming into and going out of the Masjid. I proceeded with the Reserve troop of the Palace Guard to the Juma Masjid arriving there at about 8-45 a. m.

The troops were already there and the crowd appeared orderly. I proceeded to the Main Gate of the Juma Masjid and got into the conversation with some apparently influential Musalmans. I noticed a very tall man there with a very unpleasant appearance and having heard that a tall man was wanted I asked Deputy Inspector General Police whether he was not the man. I was informed by the Deputy Inspector General Police that this tall man's name was Abdulla and that there was a warrant for his arrest. I suggested that Abdulla should be arrested but was informed by the Deputy Inspector General of Police that if he was arrested there it would surely cause a disturbance. We arranged together that a lorry should be brought along and Abdulla would be arrested, put into it and taken away. This was successfully done without attracting any outside attention. I asked the City Magistrate what arrangements had been made for the burial. He introduced me to Kh. Noor Shah, who informed me that he had put his private burial ground which was quite close at our disposal. I proceeded there with him and saw that the 12 graves had been dug and then returned to the mosque.

I sent for the Mir Waiz to come and see me at the main entrance of the Masjid. It was arranged with him that only 50 people should accompany the burial party besides those who were carrying the biers.

This arrangement was reported to Mr. Wakefield who had arrived at about 9-30 a. m.

To ensure this one platoon and a troop of Cavalry were posted outside the main gate. I got a further request that the 11 corpses should be brought outside the mosque and placed ready for the procession to proceed to the burial ground. I am glad to say that the word of the Mir Waiz was faithfully carried out. When the corpses were brought out the

Military paid full respect to the dead, the funeral party then proceeded towards burial ground and I was asked by the Mir Waiz to accompany, which I did. Troops were placed to prevent any mob crowding around the grave-yard but no such contingency occurred. During the burial of the 11 people from the mosque another corpse was brought in which was said to have come from Khanayar. I regret I did not see or examine the corpse. The burial having been completed I together with the Mir Waiz and the mourning party returned to the mosque. The people inside the Masjid dispersed in an orderly manner. The troops were withdrawn from the Juma Masjid and I returned with Mr. Wakefield to Ram Nivas at about 1-30 p. m.

At about 6 p. m. General Janaksingh, Colonel Nawab Khusru Jung in one car followed by the City Magistrate, Colonel Ghansar Singh and myself went for a tour of inspection. The route followed was Chhattabal crossing Safa Kadal bridge thence to Maharajganj and then back to Ram Nivas. At Baggayas Police Station we saw three men who had been taken in custody as it has been reported that they were throwing stones at the soldiers on the performance of their duty. Further along the troops pointed out a house from which stones have been thrown upon them while patrolling. As there were some Policemen with us I ordered them to go into the home and arrest the man who had been throwing stones. The Police entered the house accompanied by one or two soldiers and three bits of bar silver were produced from the house also one *loie*, these were given to the Police for proper action. The time was about 6-30 p. m. After completing our tour of inspection we reached Ram Nivas at about 8-30 p. m.

15th July 1931.

At about 9 a. m. I was informed by the Officer on duty at Ram Nivas that there had been a disturbance at Nawa-bazar. I at once proceeded with the City Magistrate Sat Lal in a car to the Nawa-bazar arriving there at about 9-30 a. m. Colonel Nawab Khusru Jung also arrived there about the same time. Inspector-General of Police arrived there shortly after. The information received at the spot from a nursing sister Mrs. Thakardas was that there had been a clash between the mob and the troops but she did not seem to be very clear about the incident except that stones had been thrown by the mob at the troops and that the troops had fired at the crowd and she did not know what the casualties were. At about this time a man who had been wounded in the ankle was brought in a tonga by his companions and was being carried to the hospital. He wished to be sent to the Mission Hospital and so we sent him in the Inspector-General of Police's car. We then proceeded to Tashawan which was about 600 yards distant where the picket Head-quarter was stationed.

There the Naick Onkar Singh informed me that there were two crowds approaching which converged into a narrow bridge and that he told the crowd to disperse but they refused to do so and began to abuse and throw stones at the troops. He bore with this for a while although he was being abused and stoned at, eventually when the mob advanced upon his patrol and seized the rifle of the Sepoy Abbai Singh. He saw that they might be overwhelmed by the mob therefore he ordered two men to fire (one round each). He was again assailed by the mob and had to give orders to his patrol of 4 men to open fire. Seven rounds have been reported to have been fired in all. He stated that he did not know what the casualties were amongst the mob. While we were there a corpse was brought along on a *charpoy* who was stated to have been killed in the fracas above mentioned. Just after this two wounded persons were brought in a troop lorry, one with a wound in the thigh and the other with a wound in his foot. The corpse was put in a troop lorry and sent to the Civil Hospital accompanied with some relative of the dead,

and the other lorry carrying the wounded was also sent to the Civil Hospital.

Shortly after Captain Wreford came in his car with a Pandit by name Gwash Lal, who said that he had been beaten by the Mohammedans at Nawa-bazar. This was quite obvious for he had injuries on his face and a wound in his left side about 2 inches long. Captain Wreford took him to the hospital and we returned to the Ram Nivas at about 1 o'clock.

In the after-noon there was a disturbance in the Amira Kadal Bazar. I went to the spot and found the inhabitants were in a very panicky state—to increase to the panic a fire engine arrived ringing its bell but there appeared to be no material of substantial reason for this state of affairs.

The shop-keepers were induced to open their shops and the troops arriving on the spot restored confidence and order.

16th July 1931.

When about to proceed on tour of inspection of the pickets in the city, His Highness ordered me to purchase cigarettes and issue them to the troops which I did, as far as time would permit returning to Ram Nivas at 1-30 p. m.

The situation seemed to be quieting down. While at Rainawari opposite the Zenana Hospital it was reported to me by the shop-keeper opposite the hospital that two lorries containing the troops had pulled up opposite his shop, put out their head lights and looted his shop including money. I have ordered a Court of Enquiry to investigate into this matter. No damage to the shop or the contents appears to have been done.

One of the European nursing sister is said to have witnessed the fact that two lorries pulled up near the shop between 8 and 9 p. m., put out their lights, and she heard an altercation going on. It was too dark for her to see what actually occurred. On returning from Rainawari we collected numerous applications presented by people.

At about 4 p. m. Mr. Wakefield and I went to visit the picket at Vicharnag.

On our way there it was noticed that all the streets were deserted and houses shut up. We also saw some looted shops.

On our return we were surrounded by a howling crowd chiefly composed of women who forced the driver to pull up. We eventually moved on and then round a blind corner came upon a row of boulders which was intended to block our way.

We then went to Maharajganj to issue orders to Brigadier Onkar Singh as the next day was Friday 17th July, and it was reported that large crowds of Mohammedan who would go for prayers at Hazratbal, Juma Masjid and Shah Hamdan and it was feared that these crowds might become unruly.

Necessary orders were issued to Brigadier Onkar Singh to ensure law and order being maintained.

17th July 1931.

It being a Juma day (Friday) one platoon of 40 Sepoys under Lt. Mardan Ali Shah was posted near Juma Masjid, while 2 troops of Kashmir B. G. Cavalry were sent to Hazaratbal to maintain peace and order.

No unusual event occurred.

15 armed soldiers under the command of Jemadar Pratap Singh with one of the telegraph employees were sent to Anantnag to patrol Telegraph and Telephone posts reported to have been damaged by people between Anantnag and Verinag.

18th July 1931.

I and Colonel Ghansar Singh went to inspect the pickets in the city at about 11 a. m. On our way at Khawaja Bazar we asked Mohammedan shop-keepers to open their shops but they replied that they would not open their shops until all the prisoners are released. We proceeded on and after inspecting our picket at Rainawari we arrived at Maharajganj where we happened to see two Muslim gentlemen, one of them was a Municipal Commissioner. I asked them why Mohammedan shop-keepers have not opened their shops. Their reply was also the same *i. e.* all prisoners should be released and then shops will open. They also said that Military is troubling the Mohammedans whereupon I told them to take responsibility of peace and order and Military will at once be withdrawn. They showed their inability and said that Military should not be withdrawn as it is necessary to maintain order. We then proceeded to the State Granaries and came back at Ram Nivas.

19th July 1931 (Sunday).

Slept at Ram Nivas Palace as ordered by His Highness. The city and surrounding area was reported to be "quiet". Shops all closed. At about 12 noon the Deputy Inspector General of Police personally reported to me that a small Gujjar boy had been shot at and been wounded by a Sepoy near Pandrethan and had been taken to the State Hospital.

The Gujjar boy was, I understand, taken to Colonel Nawab Khusru Jung's house from where the Deputy Inspector General of Police was informed and he reported the matter to the Army Minister, Mr. Wakefield who ordered me to enquire into the matter.

I ordered Brigadier Onkar Singh and Lt.-Colonel Ghansar Singh to atonce proceed to Badami Bagh Barracks and investigate. The former officer placed this ground out of bounds and posted a guard to see that no one trespassed.

At about 2-30 p. m. these two officers reported that they had been to the place where the alleged shooting was supposed to have taken place—the place being pointed out by the Gujjar boy his father accompanying him.

They saw some blood on a stone and after questioning the boy they found out that about 4 days previously another Gujjar boy was playing about near this place when something exploded but he was not hurt.

I, accompanied by Colonel Rahmatullah Khan and Lt.-Colonel Ghansar Singh went at about 4-30 p. m. the same afternoon to see the exact place where the Gujjar boy had received his wounds.

On about 30th June 1931, the Ordnance Officer and his Surgeant destroyed some condemned gun cotton and detonators by blowing them up and what must have occurred was that some of the detonators which were placed on top of the gun cotton did not explode.

It must have been two of these detonators that were found by these Gujjar boys and caused the accident to the boy who had his fingers damaged.

When I interviewed the Gujjar boy at Ram Nivas Palace by the aid of one of the servants who spoke Kashmiri, it was ascertained that the

boy made three statements—

1. That a Sepoy had shot at him and he put up his hands to protect himself and had his fingers wounded.
2. That it was a ghost who had shot at him.
3. That he was hitting something with a stone when it exploded.

The last statement being the correct one.

It was very unfortunate the accident happening as it aggravated matters when owing to the already strained tension that the boy should have spread the rumour that a Sepoy had shot at him.

EXHIBIT No. 85.

**Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Aftab Koul (Witness No. 71),
dated 3rd Sawan 1988.**

I beg to state that I am the Head Master of Vicharnag Government School. On Monday the 29th of Har 1988/13th July 1931 at about 3-30 p. m. Baskar Nath, B. A., resident of Vicharnag, came to me and told me that the Muslims had started looting the city and had set the Jail on fire. He further asked me to allow the students to go and close the school. It was possible that loot might take place. I permitted the students to go and himself proceeded to the house of Pt. Baskar Nath to save myself. He gave me a shelter in the upper storey of his house. The bell of Mohalla Newshehra at a *Ziarat* of Muslims started ringing. I heard it. I saw people running in the bazar from and to different directions. The mob advanced towards after looting the Hindu shops in Newshehra. I thought that the mob would loot the Hindus and kill me. I left the house and ran towards village Sovra through the fields of Vanta Bhawan. A party of about ten Muslims met me near Khatris garden in the outside of the Customs post. They were going to loot Vicharnag. They caught hold of me and started beating me severely and forcibly took possession of my clothes and things worth Rs. 49-5-0. They tore off my sacred thread to pieces and forced me to recite *Kalma* (no one but God, Mohammed His prophet). After this one of the members of the party suggested that I should be made to taste urine of a member of their party. I said I had recited *Kalma* and that it would not be proper to drop urine in my mouth for that reason. They acceded to my humble request. One youngman of their party belaboured me most mercilessly with the result that I fell down senseless. They thought that I was about to die, they therefore threw me off in a nullah. The party proceeded rapidly to Vicharnag. After the lapse of 1½ hours, I came to senses and saw that nobody was passing by, I moved towards Gulab Bagh and reached Chowk of Pt. Jai Gopal by the evening. There I met a young Muslim Zamindar aged about 30 or 35 years standing by. He enquired from me the cause of my misery. I told him that I had a fall in a nullah of water. He said to me that I was keeping back the real story. He said to me that some Muslims must have looted and beaten me. I kept quiet and he gave me an assurance of safety. He asked about the place I wanted to go to. I replied that I would like to go to the house of a Pandit. I was naked and shivering on account of my remaining in the water for a long time. He gave me a *loi*. I reached the house of a Pandit with the help of that Muslim. The Pandit gave me shelter for the night, I had a good bath in his house.

On the next day at about 9 or 10 a. m. a constable of Gandarbal Police Station happened to come to take his meals. I explained to him the whole situation. He had one or two Chowkidars with him. He took

me to Beehawa in the camp of the Naib-Tehsildar, Mal Shahi Bagh, named Mohammed Ismail, related my story to him and kept weeping throughout. The Naib-Tehsildar took pity and wired to my relations at his own expenses to inform them of my safety. He arranged for my shelter and food. He gave me his own bedding to sleep in his room. On 15th July 1931, a tonga was arranged by him for me to go to Srinagar. He wired to my relatives about my departure from there. I most respectfully solicit the favour of your very kindly enquiring into the matter and granting me a compensation.

EXHIBIT No. 86.

Translation of Vernacular Statement of K. S. Mirza Ghulam Mustafa
(Witness No. 72).

Causes of communal disturbance and hatred.

1. Young Muslims gentlemen who pass different examinations year after year desire a greater share in the services. In this respect some educated young Muslims requested for permission to present their demands to the Ruler. For sometimes they did not succeed in this effort and as alleged their representations were not laid before His Highness. The result was that they started delivering speeches to the public and influenced the masses to create communal disaffections.

2. During the same period youngmen of Jammu also started delivering public lectures and taking out processions. The incident of the defilement of the holy Quran was taken up to excite the mob in Srinagar.

3. Articles in press were published by both the parties to accuse each other. This was an other cause of excitement.

4. Mutual relations of the parties were affected by the speeches of the educated persons delivered in temples and mosques.

5. The incident of the Jail of which the authorities are aware and the consequent death of certain persons gave impetus to the excited mob and resulted in objectionable disturbances.

6. At Kani Kadal a very sad event of the murder of a Hindu girl took place. The authorities are trying to trace the offenders. Several newspapers with the intention of creating communal disaffection gave a communal colouring to this event. This again intensified the already excited mob of both the communities.

7. At a public meeting Abdul Qadeer cook, delivered a speech and was convicted by the authorities. The Police fired on the crowd which had assembled before Jail for the hearing of Abdul Qadeer's case. This excited the Muslim public all the more.

My opinion regarding maintenance of peace.

In my humble opinion the following suggestions if adopted, would quell the present disturbances and communal riots and restore peace and harmony of the State :—

1. Delivering of lectures and speeches and holding of public meetings should be prohibited for a certain specific period.

No body should be allowed to use such words in a *waiz* or *katha* as would disturb peace and excite communal hatred.

2. The demands of Kashmir Muslims may be presented by the law-abiding and peace-loving persons of the town. The authorities after due consideration should recommend the reasonable demands to His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur.
3. The complaints of Mohammedan scholars regarding non-employment should be removed.
4. The persons of both the communities who are suspected of breaking the public peace should be bound down for keeping the peace.
5. All those who have been arrested by the Military during the prevalence of the curfew order should be released.
6. Financial help should be granted to the heirs of all those persons who have been fired at by the Military and the Police.
7. A board consisting of selected influential and law-abiding persons of both the communities should be formed to root out the hatred and restore mutual confidence and trust. This shall avoid the possibility of any disturbances in future.

EXHIBIT No. 87.

Written Statement of Rai Bahadur Thakur Janak Singh Ji, Minister for Revenue and Agriculture (Witness No. 73), dated 24th August 1931.

I. I am asked by the Commission to give my views on the circumstances which led to the disturbance of the 13th of July in Srinagar. In my humble opinion the following may be mentioned as the chief causes :—

1. Propagation of English education and the opening of the two first class Colleges in the Jammu and Srinagar towns in the early years of the 20th century.
2. The Muslim community's lagging behind in the early years just as it happened in India after 1850.
3. Awakening in the Muslim community to acquire education after a period of lethargy and indifference and finding them in disadvantage as to their representation in the public service.
4. Incipient jealousy of the advanced community and growing sullenness and discontent of the educated Muslim community.
5. The formation of Kashmiri Muslim Conference in Lahore and Kashmir Labour Board in Simla and their hostile propaganda against the State administration through Muslim papers such as Muslim Outlook, Siasat and Inqilab etc.

6. Poisoning of the minds of some members of the Muslim Youngmen's Association Jammu and the spread of propaganda in big towns of the State.
7. Creation of an atmosphere of distrust, green jealousy and communal tension chiefly in big towns the abode of the intelligentia.
8. The proceedings of the Kashmiri Muslim Conference in Lahore under the presidency of the Nawab of Dacca in the beginning of 1931.
9. The recent address of Sir Mohammed Iqbal at Allahabad where he propounded the theory of a Muslim Raj in Upper India.
10. The occurrence of the two unfortunate incidences of (i) interruption in *waiz* and (ii) the alleged *tauhin* of Quran in Jammu.
11. Seizure of the above two incidents at the psychological moment by some interested leaders for propaganda purposes amongst the illiterate masses.
12. Shifting of the scene of Qadeer's trial at this very time from Sessions Court to Jail precincts without sufficient precautions by the authorities responsible for the maintenance of *Law and Order* and thereby encouraging the collection of a huge mob at the Jail and its subsequent dispersal through fire and the consequent loss of lives and starting of the loot in Maharajganj, Vicharnag and other places in the stampede and confusion that followed in the wake of firing at the Jail.

II. I am further asked by the Commission to make my suggestions regarding the steps which should be taken for the restoration of communal peace and harmony. With due deference to the discretion of the Commission I doubt very much whether I am at liberty to express my views on this point as the Revenue Minister of His Highness' Government without Government sanction.

EXHIBIT No. 88.

**Translation of Vernacular Statement of Ahmed Butt, Remission System
Clerk of Central Jail (Witness No. 74), dated 1st Bhadon 1938.**

On 29th Har 1938/13th July 1931 *i. e.* on the date of hearing of the case *State versus Abdul Qadeer*, the people began to gather near the Jail compound by 10 a. m. The Sessions Judge arrived at about 1 p. m. The people followed the car to the Jail compound. The Police tried to prevent the mob but owing to its strength it could not be prevented and entered the Jail compound. They said that they may be put into the Jail. The crowd reached the iron gate of the Jail and began to push it. After about half an hour the mob left the place and went out to the Jail almond garden towards the east. Shortly after the D. M. and the Police officers and the constables with rifles arrived there. The D. M. ordered the Police to make arrests. This resulted in pelting stones on the Police. On this the D. M. ordered the Police to open fire. The mob then dispersed and only a few remained there.

EXHIBIT No. 89.

**Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Skindar Beg, Jamadar Jail
(Witness No. 75), dated 1st Bhadon 1988.**

On 29th of Har 1988/13th July 1931, at about 1 p. m., the Sessions Judge arrived at Jail to try the case *State versus Abdul Qadeer*. A huge Muslim crowd followed the car and passing from gate No. 12, reached the main gate of the Jail. They began to shake the iron gate violently and wanted to go into the Jail. The Jailor ordered me to shut up the prisoners in the Barracks. On entering the Jail I noticed that the prisoners were extremely excited. Some how or other I complied with the above order.

EXHIBIT No. 91.

**Written Statement of Khawaja Salam Shah, Officer on Special Duty, Ward No. 4
(Witness No. 76), dated 15th August 1931.**

With reference to your letter No. 217, dated the 10th August 1931, I have the honour to say that I have been working at Reasi as Wazir Wazarat for the last about two years and have recently come here on sick leave as I am myself sick and my family and children have also been sick since my coming here and consequently I could not move much out of my house. I therefore know nearly nothing of what has been passing on here and have nothing to say. Nearly a fortnight after the occurrence of the disturbance in the city I was recalled from leave and deputed on special duty in Ward No. 4.

EXHIBIT No. 92.

**Written Statement of Sardar Hira Singh, Post-master Srinagar
(Witness No. 77), dated 23rd July 1931.**

In continuation of this office even No. dated the 18th July 1931, I have the honour to say that I spoke to you of the rough handling of several men of my staff by the Mohammdean mobs in the city. I beg to give details in the following few lines:—

On the after-noon of the 13th instant the news of the rioting in the city was received in this office. I watched the return of the postmen, who had left for the delivery of mails in the morning with cash and valuables. I was indeed extremely anxious about their safety. Upto 5 p. m., however, all postmen turned up except the head postman and postman No. 24. The postman No. 24 serving the Sri Ranbirganj area did not turn up till 5-25 p. m. The head postman also who had to fetch cash from the Town Sub-offices, also failed to put in his appearance at the expected hour, *viz* 16-30. The mails from the Town Sub-offices were also not received upto that time. Consequently express letters were sent

by me to the Inspectors of Kothibagh and City Police to trace out the postmen and while I was anxiously awaiting a reply from the said Police officers the two postmen and the mails from the Town Sub-offices suddenly turned up in a State lorry, which was provided to the Sub-Postmaster, Sri Ranbirganj by a high State official, who happened to reach the Sri Ranbirganj P. O. just in time to save them. The two boatmen, names Rahmana and Gaffara, happened to be outside the Sri Ranbirganj P. O. in waiting for the mail. One of them Gaffara was the receipt of injuries on his forearm, which he showed to me the same day and I applied some Tincture of Iodine to the wounds and first dressing.

On the following day *i. e.*, 14th July 1931, two packers and postmen of this office remained absent and from the reports received by me from them, it transpired that they were attacked in the various parts of the city and held up in different places. M. Sarwanand packer, who was returning to his house after close of office on 13th July 1931 was attacked at Gao Kadal. He received injuries on his head and remained absent from the office for four days. B. Aftab Koul Jan was attacked with sticks and stones at Tankipura, Srinagar and he also received injuries on his head. M. Dina Nath Bhan, postman No. 10 had to face an attack of brick-bats at Amira Kadal. But fortunately he received no injuries. Messrs Aftab Ram, A. P. M., Anand Ram, Tara Chand Khushu, Jia Lal Koul, Tika Lal Dhar, Bhagwan Dass, Dina Nath Tikku, Shamboo Nath Dulloo, clerks and M. Shivji Raina and Waskoul, postmen and M. Zanardhan packer had to face similar attacks on their way to office and were, therefore, compelled to remain off duty on this account, for one day, *i. e.*, 14th instant. Mr. Sri Kanth, Town Inspector of this office was caught hold of in Maisuma Bazar on 14th instant, as also your orderly peon. The former was made to part with his watch and the latter had his cycle smashed in addition to being beaten.

On the 20th instant, the runner Jaffar Mir, carrying mails to Bargam was attacked near Baghat Barzal and he received injuries on his leg. A report to this effect was made to the Inspector-General Police Srinagar and a copy thereof was sent to you under this office No. F. 5/8, dated 20th July 1931.

On 21st July 1931, M. Maheshar Koul, postman No. 29, while delivering mails in his beat was attacked by a Muslim, who took him by the neck and knocked him down on the ground and beat him to his hearts content but the population around being all Mohammedan, none came to his rescue, and every one present left the place. The postman, after getting out of his grip, ran after his assailant, as he alleges, but could not catch him, as he ran into the byelanes and disappeared from his view. As stated by him, the postman has made a report to this effect to the Police authorities at Sri Ranbirganj also.

Under the circumstances, I request that you will kindly take such action in the matter as to ensure safety of all the officials, who have to attend office. I have however, issued an order that the postmen of paid and unpaid sets should go round their respective beats *together* and have also arranged to send a cooly in each of the beats Nos. $\frac{11}{26}$, $\frac{14}{29}$, and $\frac{15}{30}$ where the condition is reported to be more dangerous. I hope you will approve of this arrangement.

EXHIBIT No. 93.

Written Statement of Gulam Ali, S. A. S. (Witness No. 78).

On 14th July 1931, at about 9 a. m. I got a telephonic message and a written order as well from the Sadar State Hospital that I should attend the City Dispensary at Maharajganj, till further orders. Accordingly I left my home at about 9-30 a. m. I crossed the 5th bridge 'Ali Kadal' and turned the road towards Maharajganj. As I walked some steps, I saw a group of Kashmiri Pandits all in shorts, armed with Lathies and hockey sticks standing at about a distance of 20 yards from me. They had caught hold of a Musalman whom they were beating and dragging towards Maharajganj. Upon this I turned back and called a Militaryman, who did not however answer my call and the Pandits hearing my calling the Militaryman, turned towards me and out of the group, about seven or eight, rushed towards me crying "Catch hold of him, tear his clothes and give him a thorough beating". When I saw all this I turned towards right and began to make my way for the sake of my life through a lane. They persued me and threw stones on me. While I was running a stone fell over my back and was somewhat hurt but I continued running till I reached the dispensary and rushed in. I worked there till about 2 p. m. when I was told by some man that the Sadar Hospital authorities had asked him on the telephone to tell me to leave the dispensary and attend the Sadar Hospital immediately. On assuring myself I left the dispensary and reached Ali Kadal by taking my direction along river bank and went straight to Sadar Hospital.

I returned home at about 6-30 p. m. situating at Nalbandpora-Chattabal. Shortly after on my entrance to home, I saw about nine or ten Military men accompanied by some Pandits at the door of one Qadir Zaz, wood-carver, my neighbour. They broke to pieces the outer door of his house and made their way inside. Instantly I heard some cracking sounds from inside the house. After about 15 minutes the Militarymen accompanied by Pandits came out from the house and I saw one of them carrying a *Loi "chader"* in his hands. Afterwards I learnt from the owner of the house that they had broken his boxes and some woodcarving articles, and had looted his property with cash worth Rs. 2,000. In this connection the owner of the house has submitted a list of his missing property to the Police Department and has also informed the higher authorities.

Next, the Militarymen on the same day and about the same time entered in another house, my neighbours, wherefrom they fetched out two men, tied with turbans and carried them away.

On 15th July 1931, during night, at about 12 p. m. I was roused by a tremendous noise from my sleep. I heard the residents of Bagi Sundar crying "Muslims have come to loot us Help: Military: Help". I heard at the same time shouts of "Nara Takbir". From another side I heard a man shouting that no Muslim should come out of his house as the false "Nara Takbir" was a ruse played by Pandits to involve Muslims into the grip of Military and other troubles. The Military who were patrolling the streets ran towards the direction and patrolled the whole Mohallah. Shortly after additional Militarymen arrived on the spot by means of lorries. The Militarymen in charge of patrol informed the new comers that they had thoroughly searched the whole Mohallah and found none. Soon after I heard a Militaryman addressing Pandits "Who played this trick and spread false news—nonsense—be careful in future". He further insisted them to be quiet and peaceful. In the morning it was confirmed that all this noise was an intentional ruse. Pandits had themselves shouted "Nara Takbir".

EXHIBIT No. 94.

**Written Statement of Dr. Dev Koul, Proprietor, Koula Dispensaries, Srinagar
(Witness No. 79).**

I presume that by this time the Commission might have gathered sufficient information and materials in connection with the occurrences that broke out simultaneously at several places. About the loot of my Koula Dispensary at Maharajganj located on the ground floor of the building, in the first floor of which the Maharajganj Police Chowki is housed, my Manager P. Dina Nath would submit a statement. He and my one Compounder were on the spot and beaten too. Under these circumstances I deem it not proper to add to the bulk. So in my statement according to my informations and inferential knowledge I would like to confine myself to the antecedents and consequences.

The present disturbances were not of ordinary type but a political riot or rebellion against the Government. It was not a communal disturbance as the Government first found it convenient to call it in its Notifications. But soon the situation was found to be hard nut to crack and Raja Sir Hari Kishen Koul was called to office. The policy at once took a different turn. The Government proclaimed that the situation was political and not communal at all. By calling it communal the Government was deceiving itself at its cost for though the attempt has immediately failed it was designed to displace and if possible to replace the Government. The cry was for Muslim Raj.

Facts and considerations that go to show the conspiracy and who was in the conspiracy. Its origin.

Immediately after Mr. G. E. C. Wakefield entered the service of the State, the question of turning out non-State subjects was pushed through. The propaganda was headed by one P. Shanker Koul who wrote a series of articles against the existence of non-State subjects in State service and against the person and administration of His late Highness in the United India and Indian States, a weekly paper published in Delhi. P. Shanker Koul was in those very days appointed against all expectations and wishes of His late Highness by Mr. Wakefield as his Assistant Secretary. This shows that P. Shanker Koul was first made the instrument of creating unrest on the State subject question. Ultimately the State subject question was decided in favour of the State subjects. But it is to be remarked that public demand for turning out non-State subjects was confined to rights with regard to State service, but through the influence of Mr. Wakefield it was extended to owning and possession of property too without any public cry to this effect. At that time the majority of non-State subjects were Hindus and in power both in official authority and property. This was pushed on with great vigour by Mr. Wakefield.

The underlying idea in this was to divide Hindus, lessen their numerical strength and weaken their influence both in official and property status. The Hindus owned big properties. Loss of competition decreased the value of properties and restrictions on acquisition not only barred foreigners from coming to this place but also induced those who owned properties to dispose them off and go away.

Even at that time the beginning of an intrigue could be smelled because Mr. Ashai (Gulam Ahmed Asahi) one of the present day leading agitators stated before the State Subject Enquiry Commission that after driving away the outsiders first right should be given to Kashmiri Muslims, failing them to Indian Muslims, and failing all Muslims to Kashmiri Hindus. The aim of the State subject question was achieved. Next step was taken by passing Agriculturists Relief Regulation amidst

Hindu opposition. The same underlying objects rule this time. It was to divest the Hindus of all their monetary strength. The Regulation was enforced with retrospective effects.

Later Land Alienation Regulation in Jammu was also amended with the retrospective effect with the same motive. The amendment declared that mortgages and sales, even though effected long before the amendment, are liable to cancellation. The underlying object was the same as in the Agriculturists' Relief Regulation.

These were the indirect steps taken to extinguish the Hindus. Then came the turn of direct steps.

As regards the direct steps the chief agent was Khan Abdul Majid Khan brought by Mr. Wakefield, although the Government of the Punjab had before deputing him pointed out that he was not desirable, being a communal agitator. Khan Abdul Majid Khan took up a direct propaganda, drew away almost all Hindu employees in the Co-operative Department and openly lectured the Muslims in his tours that Hindus were oppressing them. One of his lectures in Mirpur is significant, the record of which can be had from the Secret Intelligence Department. This was followed by open anti-Hindu policy initiated and headed by Mr. Wakefield. This was evident by the following :—

- (a) Undeserved and undue lifts given to Muslims as against the rights of the Hindus.
- (b) Direct orders issued for appointments of Mohammedans alone.
- (c) Special confidence placed in Mohammedan officers like (Khalifa).
- (d) Turning out capable Hindu officers without enquiries like Pt. Sona Koul Madan and Pt. Dama Koul.
- (e) Special concessions given to Mohammedans alone like scholarships. In 1928-29 some Mohammedans were at once deputed for higher training in England and no heed was paid to constitutional matters *i. e.* no selection was made after due advertisement by the Selection Board although it was existent then. Special Muslim scholarships were provided in Schools and Colleges. Jagirs were given to Muslim officials.
- (f) Rights in Shamilat-i-Deh and timber were allowed as coronation bonus.
- (g) The concessions that were enjoyed by the Hindu Brahmins and Rajputs in matters of execution of death sentence were withdrawn in a Hindu State.
- (h) Mr. Wakefield's opposition in Cabinet in favour of Khan Abdul Majid Khan regarding the Commission Report.
- (i) Liberal attitude of the Government towards Muslims on the day of late Maulvi Sahib's (Mir Waiz) death an unprecedented solitary event in the politics of the Government.
- (j) Curiosity of Municipality in running hand in hand with the person of Mr. Wakefield :—
 1. From Home Minister to P. W. D. Minister,
 2. From P. W. D. Minister to Development Minister,
 3. From Development Minister to Foreign and Political and Army and Police Minister,

what was the absolute necessity that compelled the transfer of this Department from one portfolio to other portfolio along with Mr. Wakefield's move. Nothing, but to be in constant touch with the city.

NOTE.—Items () and (b)—Appointment of Mr. Khande Khan as Secretary in Srinagar Municipality against the wishes and commands of His Highness. This man was on leave on 13th July 1931—the Riot Day.

2. Mr. Abdul Majid raised from the post of Sub-Inspector Police to the post of Superintendent Fire Brigade, Srinagar.

3. Mr. Khalifa, an ordinary matriculate, given the post of Personal Assistant to Mr. Wakefield in the face of so many far better qualified hands.

(k) Srinagar Fire Brigade under the direct control of Mr. Wakefield, while Jammu Fire Brigade is not so.

Having thus weakened the Hindus and lifted the Mohammedans the next step was to weaken the Government. This was done by spending all surplus balances on matters, that though a desideratum can hardly be said to be in consonance with the financial condition of the State. I mean there was no necessity of spending thousands and laes on matters like Boulevard Road, acquisition of houses, exhibitions and large schemes of drainage etc. when this money could be usefully spent elsewhere for instance in the development of Industries and Commercial schemes to solve the un-employment problem. A Sanitary Department that has hardly done any ostensible good so far, was started with no definite aim. I ask, what was the immediate necessity of constructing Boulevard Road from Dal Lake when there were not sufficient funds available. All this locality has become an insanitary nuisance rather than an improvement. Similarly the Chatabal, Amira Kadal Drainage. Can the Sanitary Department now let the public know, whether any estimate was framed before the schemes were started and whether even now any estimate is prepared? If so, we are to know where they will lead us to financially and as such whether the Government has that money. If not, has it not been a waste? I think the schemes were dreams and will never be fully completed. From this I draw the conclusion that the intention behind the back of all this was to weaken the State Finances. The same intention has been working in creating new posts with handsome salaries.

The next thing was to create a situation which would occasion an agitation. This was attempted in several ways:—

The first method was to deprive the Hindus of their place of immemorial sanctity *viz.* Hari Parbat. Khawaja Salam Shah, Khan Abdul Majid Khan, Mr. Green and Mr. Wakefield some 2 or 3 years back wanted to acquire the gardens and adjacent lands, subservient to the shrine for habitation of Muslims. The Hindus in the Municipal Committee opposed it thread-bare and rejected it. In spite of this it was intrigued to get His Highness to spot but eventually His Highness disagreed on spot. After failure it was attempted again before His Highness but unsuccessfully.

Having failed in this the second method was employed by advertising sixteen posts for Muslims alone in the Srinagar Municipality. This too was rejected afterwards by His Highness.

During all this time experience, failures and joint deliberations showed them that the time was come for starting a regular plan of rebellion. This was done as usual in such cases; attempts were made to cancel all under movements wherefor it is not possible to get direct

proofs excepting through proper investigation and getting approvers. But there is abundant circumstantial evidence of the whole intrigue.

In the beginning of 1931 Mr. Wakefield invited Peer Hissam-ud-Din of Muzaffarabad to Jammu by means of a telegram addressed to the Wazir-i-Wazarat Muzaffarabad. The latter having reached Jammu among other things not as yet known, wrote a letter to Mr. Wakefield that there was an intrigue going on against him (Wakefield) done by the Hindu Ministers. The letter was somehow published in the Princely India, a journal published in Delhi. It was later commented upon by the Anand a weekly of Lahore.

The question here is, why was Hissam-ud-Din invited and for what special business by Mr. Wakefield, and how and under what circumstances the above referred to letter came in the hands of the Editor of the Princely India. This is a mystery which the Enquiry Committee will be in a position to investigate.

During the period in the absence of His Highness in Europe the Muslim Young Mens' Association, Jammu, delivered several seditious lectures in Jammu and gave open threats to Government rousing the Muslim feelings. They were let loose to do so without any the least pull in the ear. Why was this done so, the only explanation that can be given is, that the.....Association was connected with Mr. Wakefield and the intermediary between him and the Association was Khalifa Abdul Rahim, P. A. to Mr. Wakefield, whose two brothers or cousins are said to have been the active members of this Association. Khalifa was the only confidantee keeping confidential papers of this description that would come from and go to Mr. Wakefield. The disease was developing and the conspiracy advancing. The Kashmiri Muslim Association at Lahore spoke in seditious terms in their meeting in December or February 1931. The members of the Jammu Association were connected with this Association and it might be with the knowledge of Mr. Wakefield who besides being in the intrigue played a double game. He inwardly gave all help and outwardly at once not only took no action against their doing but also gave them publicly to understand that the State Government was afraid of Muslim agitation. This was done with the idea that all other Mohammedans who were not with the Association my feel encouraged to join them. One of the instances of showing the Mohammedans that the Government was afraid was the instance of one Abdul Haq of Jammu who happened to speak in favour of Kashmir Government in the Lahore Association and for which Abdul Haq was paid publicly a reward of Rs. 1,000. We want to know, why the Government purchased its defence unless it was to show to Muslims that it was afraid of it which understanding would draw crowds towards the Muslim propaganda.

Inspite of this the conspirators did not think that all Muslims would join them. They wanted therefore to start further disturbances so that more concessions would be, as it was extorted from the Government which would encourage more people to join them and at the same time they would get more facilities of spreading their propagandas, the Government being afraid of it. It was designed to start as soon as His Highness returned from Europe. Accordingly no sooner His Highness landed in Bombay the most successful instrument of rousing the religious fury of masses was started by giving out that a certain Hindu Sub-Inspector of Police interfered with the *Nimaz* on the 1d-day in Jammu. The Sub-Inspector was at once suspended without enquiry though the court found him afterwards not guilty. This device however did not achieve the desired object because although there was sensation and commotion, there were no actual disturbances. This was thus disappointing. Another device was attempted. Khalifa was allowed to remain in Jammu on 15 days leave after office move. He matured Muslim agitation through the Young Mens' Muslim Association. A newspaper calculated to formulate

the Muslim minds and to help the propaganda was arranged to be started. Khan Abdul Majid Khan went several times on short leaves to Lahore. He transferred one of his Muslim clerks Tafail Mohammed suddenly to Jammu. The brother of this Tafail Mohammed is said to be the Editor of the "Kashmiri Musalmans" a Paisa Akhbar, which was started soon after. It was not a paper of news but a paper of fire. It was allowed to be freely distributed through the Jammu Muslim Association to the public and was not stopped for at least a month inspite of Hindu agitation to that effect, during which time it worked havoc. It may be remarked that this paper proposed that Khan Abdul Majid Khan may be made a Minister.

After 15 days' leave, Khalifa returned to Srinagar, remained there for 3 or 4 days and then went back to Jammu. It seems to me a mystery that why Khalifa came over here, got leave after 3 or 4 days again and returned to Jammu. During this time the case of "Tauhin-Quran" was started in Jammu Jail while Khalifa was at Jammu. Mr. Wakefield went for enquiry to Jammu. Khalifa joined him there though his leave had not expired. On the same day Pukhraj, the State Dancing Girl, left for Jammu. Khalifa was the chief attendant of Mr. Wakefield there. For the first 3 or 4 days Mr. Wakefield allowed Mohammedans only to see him. He held enquiry ex-parte. Mohammedan nominees were allowed but not Hindu nominees. It is said that he told the Muslims that having heard the *tauhin* news His Highness did not dine for three days. The Kashmiri Amritsar and other Muslim papers say that he gave them definite assurance that their demands will be granted by His Highness. Uptil now the public has not come to know as to what their demands are. He wanted them to prepare the deputaton. The situation was left alone with the sweeping arrangement constituting a nominal Conciliatory Board as though it was a Hindu-Muslim question.

Mr. Wakefield directed that no public meetings should be held, but soon after, Muslims did hold meetings. They were not questioned. The District Magistrate Jammu must explain why did he not take any action? Either he had directions of Mr. Wakefield or he was negligent. If the former, the intentions are clear. Pukhraj also returned on the same date when Mr. Wakefield did. What part did she play in the game? She is also said to be an intermediary of secret propaganda.

Quran case was decided. The facts show that no Quran but "Panch Soora" which has no such sanctity as Quran was displaced along with the bedding and consequently there could be no insult either intentional or accidental, but the judgment of Mr. Wakefield goes to show that there was insult but not intentional. From this involuntary leanings of Mr. Wakefield's mind can be inferred. The scent was taken by Muslim Akhbars and they got matter for discussions.

Now we want to know why Mr. Wakefield invited a deputation and offered promises to Muslims when, as announced by His Highness, he was sent simply to enquire the "*tauhin* case". The deputation was allowed to be selected in a public gathering thus indirectly disseminating disaffection among the masses. Why so, the intentions can be inferred.

Next, this deputation was allowed freely to mix with Srinagar agitators. We should rather say that Jammu agitation was intentionally and intelligently combined with Srinagar agitation in a recognised form. In Srinagar too selection in the public gathering was authorised, the off-shoots of which were the famous Abdul Qadeer's case and his trial, and with the consequent rebellion under enquiry. To make myself clear I hold, there would have been no disturbances in Srinagar if a deputation were not formed in Jammu and Srinagar and then combined under official recognition. Did His Highness want Muslim deputations? Did he announce so? If not, why did Mr. Wakefield do so?

Now the switch was on. With electric speed meetings were convened at different localities where seditious preachings were carried on vigorously. This gave rise to seditious slogans and the formation of volunteer corps for house to house propaganda. Moreover the instinct of simultaneous looting in city and outside, inferentially shows that this was a pre-arranged rebellion against the Government. It was started against the Hindus because :—

1. Of the so-called Hindu Raj.
2. To harass Hindus to the effect of joining the rebellion with them to overthrow the Government.
3. To extinguish if possible, the Hindus and establish as slogans read Muslim Raj.

Evidently Mr. Wakefield allowed and did it simply to achieve his desires. No other explanation could be possible. It will thus be clear, as traced above that Muslim disturbances were initiated, helped directly and indirectly, and openly fostered by the moving factor.

Here is a corroboration by the following events after the loot and subsequent conduct :—

- (a) Delay in sending troops for about 2 hours till the looters had done their full.
- (b) Avoiding to be caught at telephone at the proper time.
- (c) Paying money to the Muslims after the riot from his own pockets.
- (d) Withholding searches and investigations when the looted property could have easily been recovered.
- (e) Causing disappearance of the looted property like tea, termieric, sugar, torn documents etc., from the streets through Municipality and not preserving such things as good piece of evidence to guage the extent of loot and damage.
- (f) Approaching His Highness for a grant of Rs. 3,000 to the sufferers as though they had suffered with any just cause, committing His Highness to the inference that the mob was fired without any fault.
- (g) As rumoured, a separate plot has been purchased for internment of the dead at one place, keeping a constant kindling fire in the heart of Muslims.
- (h) Making Government take various conciliatory steps, requesting the Muslims to keep still as though the Government was weak.
- (i) Carrying the Mohammedan leaders only in his own car through the affected area of the city.
- (j) Refraining from visiting Vicharnag the worst affected area although he reached Nowshehra, only about 400 yards to this side of Vicharnag.
- (k) Royal arrangements and facilities for the so-called political prisoners.
- (l) Telegram by the wife of one Gouhar Rahman of Jammu, so-called political prisoner to Mr. Wakefield.....- and the latter's reply.....

The conclusion arrived at by me about this intrigue was also arrived at by the Amar Akhbar of Jammu long before the notorious day of 13th July 1931, as will appear from the articles given in Amar early in May and June last. It was definitely said in those articles that there was an influential personage at the back of this intrigue.

Some of above stated facts and conduct can be explained away by denying malicious motives and advocating expediency of the time but I strongly say that, that explanation is not tenable.

Mr. Wakefield is a highly experienced, tactful, and highly paid an influential officer. We can not expect him to be committing blunders after blunders. It is impossible. He was not wise even after the riot. If he was negligent, he was criminally so. He openly stopped investigations and searches. He took no precautionary measures. Either the Intelligence Department is to be blamed or the officers who controlled it. No other thing is possible. Mr. Wakefield's capacity to manage where he wanted to manage, can be judged by the action he took on the day of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest and all the sensations were stopped in 2 or 3 days time, *e. g.*

1. Proscription of Ranbir.
2. Proceedings under Section 107 Cr. P. C.
3. Dismissal of one Professor of Jammu College.
4. Degradation of the Principel Jammu College.
5. Removal of Honourary President Jammu Municipality.

From all this every one will inevitably be led to the conclusion that it was a pre-designed intrigue fostered by Mr. Wakefield.

Before ending my statement I would like to draw the attention of the Commission to one point only. We Hindus as minority put forward our claims. Our claim is to protect us. Chronicles invariably show that we have been always loyal and faithful to Government. History will celebrate our spotless loyalty proved in recent disturbances. It will work as a pilot for future generations. But let me remark here that the strength of Government lies in protecting minority. Because we, as loyal and true to the salt, have always been serving the cause of Government. In awarding due protection to minority the Government asserts its strength and secures its safety. But if the Government ignores the simple claim of the minority the Government is not only doing injustice to the minority but deliberately neglects the recognised policy of the civilized nations.

EXHIBIT No. 95.

Written Statement of Professor R. K. Bhan, M. A., F. R. E. S., Secretary, the Kashmiri Pandit's Social Uplift Association, Srinagar (Witness No. 80).

The conditions through which we are passing at present are unprecedented in the modern history of Kashmir. Even in the Mohammedan rule, for the most part notorious for religious intolerance, a general rising by the indigenous Mohammedans against the Hindus was not known. Every thoughtful man naturally feels anxious to consider the causes which led to the recent out-break, and the steps that should be taken to restore such conditions in future as may ensure security of life and property. For, there is no doubt that although open demonstrations in the shape of revolutionary cries and loot and assaults have ceased, the truculence still continues and may burst out at any moment and on any excuse.

After a careful and dispassionate consideration of events of the last six or seven years, it is obvious that there was no cause for the Muslim community to feel aggrieved. The Government has during this period adopted measures which were almost exclusively for the benefit of this community and some of which were positively against the interests of the Hindus. What even the Punjab Government could not do, the Kashmir Government did with a simple easy stroke of the pen. The Co-operative movement, the Shali arrangements, the abolition of *vad*, the summary liquidation of a large portion of rural debt, the Agriculturists Relief Regulation with its retrospective effect, the Compulsory Primary Education, the special Mohammedan scholarships for higher education, the large concessions in the matter of appropriating village commons, the prolongation of the term of Settlement from 20 to 40 years and the writing-off of large arrears of Land-revenue—all these have benefitted the Mohammedans and the peasantry which is mainly Mohammedan. In the matter of providing posts to the Mohammedans in the public services, the Government has done more than they could justly claim, and in doing so it has overlooked the claims and interests of persons of the other community. The Government has at every time evinced an anxiety to find a Mohammedan for a vacancy. There are numerous instances where Mohammedans who were hardly efficient or deserving, have been pitch-forked to posts or given training and scholarships, in spite of the fact that far more deserving and far abler Hindus were among the claimants. It will appear, therefore, that there was no legitimate cause for any feeling of disaffection against the Government on the part of the Mohammedans.

The causes of the recent outbreak should not be sought in the disaffection of the masses, the agriculturists or the labourers—skilled or unskilled. For they could combine only if they felt any economic distress. But the economic conditions of Kashmir have considerably improved. They have decidedly been better than they were six or seven years ago. Elsewhere in India, economic depression at the present time is due largely to a fall in the price of food-stuffs. In Kashmir it was obviated by the State Granary Department, which assured the peasant his normal price and thus regulated the prices generally. It may best be stated here that the damage and distress caused by 1928-29 floods in certain parts of Kashmir, were speedily relieved by the State. Nor does this Mohammedan agitation aim at ameliorating the condition of the labourer or the worker. For it is not a movement for establishing labour or trade unions. Other classes of Mohammedans too, traders, embroiderers, artists and skilled labourers, have no special cause of grievance, in so far as they are economically well off.

Nor, again, is this outbreak a result of unemployment among the educated Muslims. The ratio existing between the University qualified and the unemployed is much higher in the case of Hindus than in the case of Mohammedans. The figures are given in an appendix to this statement. The total number of the unemployed among the Hindus is about 600, while that of the Mohammedans is about 20. One fact is significant in this connection. About a hundred Hindus serve under Mohammedan traders as their clerks, a fact that proves the dearth of the unemployed educated Mohammedans. Even their Islamia schools have to employ Hindu teachers. While Kashmiri Hindus who go down to the plains to receive post-graduate or professional instruction at their own expenses are available, the State awards scholarships to Mohammedans and employs them in preference to better qualified Hindus. Hindu graduates and M. As. of Kashmir have been and are being employed on posts carrying very small emoluments. Posts reserved for Mohammedans have to go begging: The Accountant General advertised for Mohammedan graduates required for his office but not one application was forthcoming.

The Hindu community has done absolutely nothing to deserve the ill-will of the Mohammedans. Boon after boon was conferred upon

the Mohammedans at the expense of the Hindus. Hindu officials are subjected to premature retirements and unwarranted dismissals. Special favouritism was shown to the Mohammedans to the detriment of Hindu interests. Still the Hindus as a community never protested, and always took care not to furnish any cause to their Mohammedan fellow-subjects to feel that they were in any way opposed to their advancement. Even in the matter of the so-called Muslim demands the local Hindus *i. e.*, the Kashmiri Pandits never raised a dissentient cry. While the Mohammedans were by special concessions and favours gaining ground everywhere, the local Pandit was being ousted from the field. But, though the unequal treatment caused him heart-burning, he neither grew inimical towards his Mohammedan countrymen, nor did he become disloyal to his Ruler. Kashmiri Hindus have always shown respect towards their Mohammedan countrymen's religion; nor have they ever wounded their religious susceptibilities. The recent attack on Hindus in Kashmir is unique in as much as it was wholly unprovoked.

The cause, therefore, of the Mohammedan agitation is to be sought in the Islamic agitation outside the State, and the propaganda of the Muslim Press of the Punjab. Some Punjab communalists seemed determined on promoting disaffection against the Government and exciting hatred against the Hindu community. Some Muslims from outside who came in for long or short terms to Kashmir brought with themselves the communalist's cult and contributed to the propaganda. It may also be submitted that the indiscriminate grant of concessions and favours to Mohammedans is also responsible for the violent agitation against the Government.

These causes would not have led to the developments which we have witnessed during the last few months, but for the supineness of the authorities whose function it was to see that unconstitutional and violent methods of agitation were not adopted and law and order was not disturbed. In the beginning the agitation was comparatively less harmful. But it was left unheeded by the authorities, and the "Leaders" gained in boldness and strength. Each succeeding move was more objectionable than that which had preceded it, till the agitators lost all restraint over themselves and uttered exciting slogans and did other things which clearly came within the purview of Sections 124-A and 153-A.

It appears that some persons for different motives of entirely individual and selfish character lent countenance to the agitation. They were irresponsible men and therefore, more or less indifferent to consequences and aimed at exploiting the agitation for their selfish purposes.

To a dispassionate observer it must look strange that the authorities responsible for law and order thought it fit not to intervene when the agitation was growing and there was every likelihood that, if not effectively checked, it would overflow all bounds. It was by adoption of drastic measures that the non-co-operation, the Akali and the Civil disobedience movements of British India were not allowed so much as to find any echoes in the State. The Arya Samaj had on many occasions been subjected to check and restraint. Was the Dogra Sabha not suppressed and the weekly Ranbir, issued from Jammu not stopped under Government orders? And for what offence? Only last year a demonstration unattended by loot, arson or any other outrage on the occasion of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi in which cries of "Mahatama Gandhi Ki Jai" alternated with those of "Maharaja Bahadur Ki Jai" called forth the whole machinery of law to operate against persons who could not perhaps have succeeded in preventing the demonstration which was perhaps inevitable, adopt a policy of non-interference in connection with the recent campaign of communal hatred and sedition? They cannot plead that they were not aware of what was happening, because every one, Hindu or Mohammedan, could clearly read the signs. We are informed that reports and representations written in unequivocal language about all that was happening and

all that it might lead to had reached the authorities. Why was the holding of such meetings even allowed, when the law is clear : no political meetings to be called without the permission of the District Magistrate? And, worse than that, why instead of proceeding against the "leaders" legally, did the authorities recognize them as representatives of the public? For the simple reason that they had flouted the law and discredited the natural leaders of the community, whom the authorities also disowned.

Leaving aside their failure in effectively suppressing the movement which was unconstitutional at the very commencement, the authorities are answerable for not taking precautions against any unlawful developments at the Jail where large crowds were asked to assemble by the Mohammedan "leaders". Nothing, again, could be more culpable than their failure to stop the destruction of the Sangam Bridge regarding which clear warnings had been given. The authorities were active only on the occasion before the riots *viz.* in stopping the funeral procession of the murdered Pandit girl and charging it with Lathies till it was compelled to retrace its steps and take a more circuitous route. In the case of Mohammedan agitators, the authorities followed a policy of drift and allowed things to take their course till the Mohammedan mob actually established its own Raj. It is a chapter of straining at gnats and swallowing camels. In spite of indiscriminate looting searches were stopped, but a Hindu was challenged by the Police for having raised due alarm when an attempt was made by Muslims to set his house on fire.

We need not present any details of the outrages which were perpetrated. They were of the type of a barbaric vendetta against the Hindus wherever it was possible to commit violence without meeting any resistance worth the name. The Hindus came in only as sufferers: the happenings were not otherwise due to any communal tension. The rebellion for so it was, was directly and definitely a rebellion against the Government, and Hindus came in because they were non-Muslims "*Kafirs*", and because the Maharaja, in spite of his noble profession of having as ruler no religion, is a Hindu by birth. It also appears that the Hindus were dragged into excite the masses by stirring their fanaticism. Whether or not the imaginary demands of the irresponsible agitators and ring-leaders were met would not obviously be the concern of the large majority of their co-religionists who are engaged in trade and other occupations. It, however, suited the purpose of the agitators that the masses should be excited and their religious passions roused.

On the afternoon of the 13th July Goonda Raj prevailed in Srinagar. The mob raided the Jail and perpetrated un-told outrages on the life and property of the Hindus in the city and at Vicharnag. They continued raising fanatical and revolutionary cries while looting assaulting and wounding the Hindus, who had offered absolutely no provocation. The pillage, arson and incendiarism were not the outcome of fury but were cold-blooded acts in pursuance of a pre-arranged programme. The activities which the authorities had neglected to control and check had kindled a fire which later became a conflagration.

In spite of all this, even after the 13th July, the policy of drift adopted by the authorities was remarkable. The situation was not brought under complete control for two weeks after the outbreak of the 13th July. At the present moment the prestige of the Government has reached such a low level and the law-breakers have become so emboldened that a recrudescence of mischief may take place at any moment and on the least excuse, unless effective steps are taken to deal with it. After the rioting, while the interests of the Hindu sufferers were ignored and even lip-sympathy was not extended to them, the law-breakers received encouragement from the various acts of omission and commission of the authorities. People are justified in expressing surprize at the behaviour of the authorities in not visiting Vicharnag, where havoc had been wrought and several

Hindu families ruined. And even after the origies, the authorities tried to placate the rebels who true to their schemes, assaulted the Military troops and openly defied and flouted the authority of the Government. The authorities tried to arrange a kind of truce with plotters and agitators of doubtful antecedants. Men who ought to have been punished as conspirators were treated as pillars of the State on whose gesture was hanging its fate. This was enough to demonstrate to the Muslim masses the importance of their mis-leaders. And what was the response to the pourparlers? The *hartal* became stiffer, counter complaints against Hindus and the Military were fabricated, the Royal warrant calls to serve on the Commission were not obeyed and Section 144 was openly defied. The release of the detenus whose lead and activity created bloodshed and conditions of anarchy in Kashmir was the climax of a series of acts of the authorities which all betrayed their lack of efficiency and statemanship.

It is, then, the culpable negligence of the authorities which helped to encourage the mischief and strengthened and intensified the agitation. It is inconceivable that action should not have been taken when there was information about an intended demonstration at the Jail; that steps should not have been taken notwithstanding timely warnings about the burning down of the Sangam Bridge; that searches and arrests should have been stopped before stolen property had been recovered; that endeavours should have been made to negotiate terms with the rebels; and to crown all that the men, obviously responsible for breeding the mischief should have been released instead of being tried in a court of law. It can be easily imagined what effect all this had on the prestige of the Government and on the spirit of mischief and vandalism.

We have deliberately avoided details of the loss of property or injuries to person as official reports and other evidences are available to the Commission.

As regards remedies, there can be no two opinions about the necessity of immediately taking effective steps to make the rebels feel the authority of law and to ensure security of life and property to law-abiding citizens. The Government have not to learn a lesson in this respect. They are dealing with criminals every day and those who have committed crimes should be punished at law. The Government lost no time last year in suppressing with a strong hand the far off echoes of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest. They should take strong action now to eradicate the present agitation calculated to undermine the present Government and to replace it by a rule of a "Panun Sultan" (our own Sultan). The spirit that the Government has created for itself by its continued inaction must give way. That is the least that is necessary for maintaining peace and tranquility in future. The sufferers should be compensated for the loss of their property: other measures as may be necessary to protect Hindus in Mohammedan Mohallas and suburbs and villages should be adopted. The position of Hindus in the Mufassil is certainly fraught with danger. After the incident of burning a Hindu house with its inmates at Khalidna (as reported in the papers) Hindus naturally shudder to think of the plight of their brethren in the Mufassil. The Military should continue to patrol the city for some time and punitive Military or Police, preferably the former, should be stationed as is usually done everywhere in such occasions. All activities in which there is the least danger of a disturbance of the public peace should be effectively stopped. It should be made demonstrably clear once for all that loot and incendiarism will not pay either those who actually join it or their wire-pullers or even those who aim at becoming political "leaders".

A few words regarding the grievances of the Mohammedans. The charge that they are kept in a state of slavery is false and mischievous. Their opportunities for advancement in all walks of life are as good as, if

not better than what their fellow subjects of the Hindu community have. There is absolutely no disability on Mohammedans as such. On the contrary almost all land and agriculture is in their hands. The same is true of almost all arts, crafts and professions, which are their close preserve. Every new move towards the development of the resources of the country advances their interests and welfare. We have referred above to some boons of recent years which have evidently promoted the good of the this community. In matters of religious observances they have the same facilities as followers of other religions have. In the matter of education they have all the facilities which Hindus have plus special facilities in the form of closed scholarship and liberal grants-in-aid. As regards Government services, Mohammedans receive special favours and consideration. Instances are numerous in which competent, highly qualified and senior Hindus are superceded in favour of indifferent, less educated and junior Mohammedans. If Mohammedans prefer lucrative occupations to clerkships, and if on that account they do not care to avail of the facilities for secondary and higher education, who is to blame? Those Mohammedans who availed of the special opportunities have fared far better than the Hindus. The Mohammedans who received University certificates or diplomas before the current year and sought for employment did not meet with any of the failures which hundreds of Hindu graduates are every day experiencing. The number of Muslims of this kind who are still waiting for employment is said to be not more than and that inspite of the fact that the preceding two years were those in which, in the interests of economy, the Government had to effect retrenchment. Indeed a tolerable Mohammedan under-graduate often fares better in seeking services than a first class first M. A. who is a Hindu.

The Kashmir Hindus know that in the education of their Muslim countrymen lies their best security, if, as it is hoped, proper education will succeed in removing religious intolerance and bigotry. The Hindus have indeed done their best to help the Muslims to get educated. In their non-official effort to educate girls, the Hindus have started three schools exclusively for Mohammedan girls manned by Mohammedan staff, though not a single Mohammedan contributes towards the up-keep of the schools. Opportunities for acquiring knowledge have been always equal in the State, the only inequality consists in granting special facilities to the Mohammedans. In Kashmir the Kashmiri Pandit has been declared ineligible for posts on account of his being a "Pandit". A notorious instance of this occurred some years ago, when the Head of the State Game Laws Department declared that "was quite fit" but could not be appointed because he was "a Pandit". This is certainly what Hindus resent and have a right to resent. Encouragement given to a particular class of His Highness' subject is one thing but putting a premium on ignorance or illiteracy is quite another. A Mohammedan naturally feels proud that his religion not only helps him to earn merit for the Hereafter but also confers on him boons in this world. He is fortunate because he is a Mohammedan. It may humbly be submitted that this is not religious neutrality.

A point seems to have been raised about the proprietary rights of land. The present regulations according to which the indebtedness of the agriculturists is guarded and they are prevented from alienating this land by sale or mortgage is to their own interest. The entry of the State as proprietor, is entirely nominal. At any rate this is not a point of conflict between the Hindus and the Mohammedans.

In conclusion we may state that if the Mohammedans have any genuine grievances on points not known to us, we would not as we have not done so far, stand in the way of their being redressed. But it is necessary in all measures that are to be taken that the Government should make adequate provision for the protection of the traditional and

patent rights and claims of the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Depressed classes who have all along been loyal and have contributed in their humble way to the building up of the Jammu and Kashmir State. Nothing should be done unless all the minorities have had their say in the matter of constitutional or communal concessions. All classes of His Highness' subjects must receive equal consideration. Above all, it is in the highest degree necessary that the *Government should govern*, always justly and tactfully indeed, but with firmness and resolution so that law-abiding citizens are enabled to pursue their vocations, the sanctity of the home is not violated and Goondas do not dictate terms. The Hindus of Kashmir do not claim any special favours because they are under a Hindu ruler, but they have certainly a right to live under a ruler whose religion is justice.

APPENDIX A.

Statement showing number of students on the rolls of the S. P. College, Srinagar from 1920 to 1930.

Year.	Mohammedans.	Other castes.
1977 (1920)	... 22	192
1978	... 17	211
1979	... 25	225
1980	... 28	277
1981	... 51	304
1982	... 69	345
1983-84	... 74	406
1984-85	... 83	466
1985-86	... 90	467
1986-87	... 93	453

NOTE.—The amount of Rs. 3,000 (annual grant) is spent as special scholarships for Mohammedan students of the College who can, and do compete for open scholarships also the amount of which is less than the above sum. There are 5 scholarships at Rs. 15 per month, per student, reserved for frontier students in addition to 30 per cent. free-ships, a large portion of which is availed of by the Mohammedans. These figures are for S. P. College, Srinagar, only. The Commission can call for statistics for the whole State if it so chooses.

APPENDIX B.

List of Mohammedans who passed the intermediate examination from the S. P. College from 1909 to 1930.

Year.	Name.	REMARKS.
1903	Mohammed Atta Ullah Khan	Forest Department.
1910	M. Hussain	Dead.
1910	Kh. Mohammed Maqbul	Superintendent, Revenue Secretariat.

Year.	Name.	REMARKS.
1912	Nizam-ud-Din	B. A.
1913	G. A. Ashai	"
"	Ahmad Shah	"
1916	Ghulam Hussain Khan	Dead.
"	Habib Ullah	B. A.
1918	Nur Hussain	Assistant Surgeon.
1919	Ali Shah	B. A.
"	M. Amin Khan	S. I. Police.
"	Muzaffar-ud-Din	B. A.
"	Ghulam Rasool Shah	"
"	Aga Ali	Superintendent, Wazarat office.
1920	Ghulam Mahi-ud-Din	Education Department.
"	Ghulam Ahmad Fazli	B. A. private, LL. B. State scholarship Education Department (Director's office)
"	Azam Beg	Non-State subject.
"	Syed Mahmud	B. A.
"	M. Ghulam Jilani	"
"	Fateh Ali	Military Doctor.
1921	M. Wazir Ahmad	A. S.
"	Sona Ullah Pandit	Customs A. I.
"	Ghulam Safdar	B. A.
"	Latif-ul-Rahman	Non-State subject.
"	Tayeb Shah	Teacher.
"	Wilayat Ali Khan	"
"	Hakim Ali	B. A.
1923	Abdul Rahim	"
"	Ghulam Mohammed	"
"	Abdul Ahad	Poonch.
"	Muzaffar Din	Non-State subject.
1924	Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din	Assistant Surgeon.
"	M. A. Majid	Non-State subject.
"	Anayat Ullah Shah	" "
"	Kamal-ud-Din	B. A.
"	Abdul Ahad Malik	"

Year.	Name.	REMARKS.
1924	Ghulam Mohi-ud Din	B. A.
"	S. M. Abdulla	"
1925	Mr. Habib Ullah	"
"	Ghulam Mohammed	"
"	Hidayat Ullah	"
1926	M. Aslam	Assistant Surgeon.
"	M. Hussain	"
"	M. Ibrahim	"
"	Abdul Aziz Fazili	B. A., LL. B. (private). Finance Department.
"	M. Ghulam Ahmad	B. A.
"	Kh. Abib Ullah Mir	"
"	Sadar-ud-Din	"
"	M. Abdul Salam	Teacher Islamia.
"	M. Afzal Beg	B. A.
"	Gulam Ahmad	"
"	Mir Hydayat Ullah	"
"	Mohammed Ismail	"
"	Mohammed Sidiq Malik	"
"	Ali Mohammed Khan	Veterinary S. A. S.
"	Mubarik Shah	B. A.
"	Abdul Gani Fazili	"
"	Mohammed Umar But	Still appealing for B. A.
"	Abdul Rashid	B. A.
"	Syed Nazir Ahmad	"
"	Abdul Aziz Kharashi	"
"	Jalal-ud-Din	"
1927	Chowdhari Raymat Ullah	A. S. Scholarship.
"	Syed Sajad Haddar	Non-State subject.
"	Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din	"
"	Noor ud-Din	Failed B. A. 1931.
"	Abdul Ahad Mir	" " "
"	Ghulam Mohammed	B. A.
1928	Mir Ghulam Rasul	"

Year.	Name.	REMARKS.
1928	Mohammed Maqbul	
"	Abdul Ahad Jan	Veterinary A. S.
"	Munshi Mohammed Jamal	Teacher.
"	Abdul Rahman	
"	Mohammed Sultan	Ranger.
"	Syed Murtaza	M. Sc.
"	Ghulam Nabi	B. A.
"	Mohammed Hussain Khan	
"	Ghulam Rasul Naqshbandi	Failed in B. A.
"	Ghulam Ahmad	B. A. 1931.
"	Ramzan Kak	
1929	Pir Mohammed Akbar	Non-State subject.
"	Syed Mohammed Ashrif Nakshbandi	A. S. Scholarship.
"	Ali Mohammed	S. A. S. "
"	Fazal Haq	Non-State subject.
"	Azim-ud-Din	B. A.
"	Ghulam Mohammed	Failed in B. A. 1931.
"	Pir Mohammed Asgar	" " "
"	Ghulam Haddar Khan	" " "
"	Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq	" " "
"	Abdul Afiz	" " "
"	Ghulam Nabi Nakshbandi	B. A.
1930	Ghulam Rabani	Studying B. Sc., Jammu.
"	Mohammed Hussain	Studying B. Sc. (Electrical) Benares.
"	Mir Habib Ullah	Veterinary.
"	Ghulam Nabi	Fourth year class.
"	Sh. Abib Ullah	" "
"	M. Noor-ud-Din	" "
"	Ghulam Haidar	

NOTE.—The list has been prepared at short notice. There are a few names in whose case the Committee has not been able to enter or verify their present occupations.

APPENDIX C.

List of Mohammedan graduates.

Year.	Name.	REMARKS.
1915	G. A. Ashai	"Ring leader".
1916	Nizam-ud-Din	Co-operative Department.
1919	Habib Ullah	C. I. D.
1921	Ali Shah	Stores.
"	Muzafar-un-Din	Scholarship England.
1923	Ghulam Safdar	A. G's. office.
"	Latif-ul-Rahman	Non-State subject.
"	Hakim Ali	Sericulture Assistant.
1924	Aga Syed Mohammed	Disable, was recommended for secretaryship.
"	Mirza Ghulam Jilani	Co-operative.
1926	Abdul Ahad Malik	A. I. Customs.
"	M. Kamal-ud-Din	Secretary Municipality.
1927	Syed Nazir Ahamed Shah	Munsiff.
"	Ghulam Hussain Khan	Assistant Engineer.
1928	Abdul Rashid	Law graduate 1931.
"	Abdul Gani Fazili	" " "
"	Hidayat Ullah	Non-State subject.
"	Ghulam Ahmad	Teacher.
"	Ghulam Mohammed	
"	M. Habib Ullah	Teacher.
"	M. Sadar-ud-Din	Accounts Department.
"	Ghulam Ahmad	Superintendent, Accounts office ; under training for Gazetted job.
"	Habib Ullah Mir	Cabinet office.
"	Mubarik Shah	Munsiff.
1929	Khalil Mohammed	Non-State subject.
1930	Mohammed Afzil Beg	State Bank.
"	Kh. Ghulam Mohammed	
"	Ghulam Rasul	Scholarship Engineering London.
"	Mohammed Sadiq Malik	S. I. Police.
1931	Ghulam Ahmad	This year's graduate.

Year.	Name.	REMARKS.
1931	Ghulam Nabi Nakshbandi	} This year's graduates.
"	Jalal-ud-Din	
"	Azim-ud-Din	
"	M. Muzaffar Khan	

NOTE.—The figures for matriculates from the schools of Srinagar are being compiled and it is hoped the committee will be in a position to submit the same through its witness. Other figures regarding Mohammedans in the State services may also be awaited.

APPENDIX D.

Facilities for Mohammedans.

Number of teachers in Kashmir Province.

Name.	Teachers.	Menials.	Total.
Hindus	500	29	529
Muslims	*424	51	475
Sikhs	63	9	72
Buddhists	11	.....	11
Rajputs	3	.....	3

*In addition to this number there are 127 Maulvies at Rs. 10 employed in Maktabas and 140 Arabic Teachers, making the total number 767.

NOTE.—Most of the Muslim Teachers compare very unfavourably with Hindu Teachers in qualifications as the educated ones among Mohammedans are not patriotic enough to take to teaching and prefer posts in administrative departments. It is, therefore, found that Hindu Teachers are employed in Islamia Schools.

Rs. 23,028 are awarded as special scholarships to Mohammedans besides poverty and merit scholarships for which they can compete.

EXHIBIT No. 96.

Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Samad Sheikh, Lambardar of village Shilwat, Tehsil Baramulla (Witness No. 82), dated 10th Bhadon 1988.

Most respectfully I beg to state that at the end of Baisakh 1988 one day in the morning I happened to go to the house of Dr. Abdul Wahid and found the following gentlemen (1) K. S. Abdul Majid Khan,

(2) Malik Sher Mohammed, B. A., office of the Revenue Minister, (3) Khawaja Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, (4) Master Mohammed Abdulla, M. Sc., (5) Maulvi Yusuf Shah, Mir Waiz, (6) Mir Hussain Shah Jalali, (7) Khawaja Noor Shah Naqashbandi, Revenue Assistant, (8) one old man out of the Muslim leaders, (9) Khawaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl, (10) Malik Maqbul Ahmad. Assistant Registrar Co-operative, assembled there and talking with one another in English. At the close of the meeting Master Mohammed Abdulla and Khawaja Ghulam Mohammed Ashai declared in Kashmiri that that was the most blessed opportunity and that they were fortunate to attain their objects. Mr. Wakefield out of sympathy towards us had already arranged with all the Muslim leaders in India to help us and that he had settled with the British Government to put this State under a Mohammedan Ruler. The Muslims were entitled to this privilege from a very long time. Lastly they added that they would see Mr. Wakefield at his Bungalow at Gupkar and consult him to get his sanction to the following proceedings of the meeting:—

- (1) They shall make the Muslims combine to get rid of the Hindus by looting them. These Hindus were overwhelming in almost all the Departments of the State.
- (2) All the Government bridges such as Anantnag, Sangam, Baramulla and Sopore shall be set on fire to obstruct the communication. The Sangam bridge shall be burnt on the day of Hindu festival at Bhawan to prevent the public communication. On that very day we shall loot and kill Hindus.
- (3) We shall also kill His Highness somehow or other.

Mohammed Abdulla prepared a copy of the above proceedings for the perusal of Mr. Wakefield and all went to his Bungalow. I also proceeded to his Bungalow in the company of Dr. Abdul Wahid. I remained outside the door, while the rest went inside and conversed with Mr. Wakefield in English. After they had finished they came out and Mr. Wakefield accompanied them to the door. At the time of departure Mr. Wakefield told them in Urdu, that he was out to help them and that they should back him up to take steps to achieve what has unanimously been decided. All of them went away to their houses and I came back with Dr. Abdul Wahid to his house.

Sometimes after, on a Sunday the Muslims held a public meeting at Khanqah Maula to elect representatives. The Muslims collected members. Police officers and the City Magistrate also went there on duty. The representatives so elected delivered speeches in turns. Abdul Qadeer who delivered a speech resulting in his arrest.

On 28th Har 1933, I had brought cocoons to Silk Factory. On my way back from there I went to see Dr. Abdul Wahid. I again saw there the following:—(1) K. S. Abdul Majid Khan, (2) Marter Mohammed Abdulla, (3) Ghulam Mohammed Ashai, (4) Khawaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl, (5) Maulvi Yusuf Shah, (6) Maulvi Ahmad Ullah, (7) Maulvi Abdulla Vakil, (8) Mr. Hussain Shah Jalali, Khan Sahib Abdul Majid Khan said what a pity that a foreigner should be arrested for delivering a speech. He may be convicted tomorrow, Muslims should try to get him released. They may have to fight to save him but they must save the situation and get an opportunity to loot the Hindus. All present there replied that proper arrangements shall be made. The next day on 29th of Har 1933, I again went to the Silk Factory and on my way back to Zaina Kadal I saw many people running towards the fort. I also went there. Innumerable people had assembled there. They prevented the judge from entering the Jail compound and tried to set fire to the Jail and get all the prisoners released. The fire broke out and I came back. I know nothing about the firing at the mob. My residence is just opposite to

the Maharajganj on other side of the river and it commands a view of the Maharajganj. The Muslim mob brought there three dead bodies on *charpoy*s. Many people had assembled there beforehand. The mob was much excited and began to loot the Hindu traders and shop-keepers and took away their property. I noticed all this from my house.

On 5th Sawan 1988/20th July 1931, I and other Lambardars had to go to Baramulla for getting necessary instructions. I saw (1) Malik Maqbul Ahmad, Assistant Registrar, (2) Qazi Shams-ud-Din, (3) Qazi Abdul Gani, (4) Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, brother of Amir Shah, (5) Maqbul Kakru, (6) Ama Sheikh, (7) Akbar Shah, (8) Habib Ullah, Accountant Banks and many other men gathered together on the shop of Ramzan Moji, Subhan Moji. I also went there. A conspiracy was going on there: no one should obey the orders of the Government and Hindus may be looted and killed because there was going to be a change in the Government. The neighbouring villages were to be informed of it. They did not mind my presence because of my connection with Dr. Abdul Wahid and Malik Maqbul Ahmad. I am the President of the Co-operative society at Shilwat, Tehsil Baramulla and am a Lambardar. They trusted that I would follow the advice of K. S. Abdul Majid Khan and the Assistant Registrar, to incite the people. Besides Mohammed Wani son of Nabir Wani resident of Serai Dangarpura has been instigating the people to loot the Hindus, disobey the Government and refuse to pay the Land Revenue. The said Mohammed Wani keeps two volunteers with him to secure the end in view. All the neighbouring Lambardars Zamindars and myself have given statements to this effect in the Police,

EXHIBIT No. 97.

Written Statement of Lieutenant Colonel Nawab Khusro Jung (Witness No. 83).

On the 13th of July all Ministers had been summoned by His Highness to Karn Bagh to discuss and consider urgent measures to be adopted for flood protection.

It was between 1-30 and 2 p. m. when a telephone message was received that the Jail had been attacked and a request was made for immediate Military help.

His Highness sent for Brigadier Sutherland, informed him of the news and gave him instructions to get the Cavalry in readiness and await further orders.

About 2-45 p. m. I left with His Highness for Ram Nivas.

Telephone messages were being received from Maharajganj that the Ganj had been looted. I was ordered to proceed to Maharajganj with thirty men of the Palace Guard, with particular instructions that the men did not lose their heads and to see that if it became necessary to use force to disperse any crowd or protect life and property, the men used their lances only as sticks. I left Ram Nivas between 3-45 and 4 p. m., with the detachment and proceeded direct to Maharajganj. We trotted all the way and we must have arrived at Maharajganj about 4-15 p. m.

I found that several shops had been looted. The contents of these shops had been thrown out on to the road and the doors had been smashed and ledgers had been burnt and torn. I found also that several men bore marks of rough handling and injuries.

I met no crowds on my way to Maharajganj.

On my arrival at Maharajganj the people came in with news of one locality or the other being looted and asked me to help.

I left about 8 men in Maharajganj and went round the city with the rest of the detachment conducted by these people. But when I arrived at these localities where looting had been reported, I found that damage in the way of looting shops etc. had already been done and I came across no crowds. I am afraid I cannot recollect the names of these various localities. I left pickets at various places as I went along. At the end I passed the Juma Masjid where I found a large crowd gathered outside the mosque.

I left six men at the corner of the road at Juma Masjid and proceeded towards Maharajganj. After I had gone a little way the party I had left at Juma Masjid fell back and reported that the attitude of the crowd was threatening and as they were few of them they wanted more men. I returned to Juma Masjid and left the remaining detachment which was with me on the main road. I went into the outer square of the Masjid with three Sowars. I dismounted, left the Sowars there and myself went into the Masjid. The mosque was crowded and the people excited. M. Mohammed Yusuf, Mir Waiz and some other gentlemen were there on a raised platform. I walked across to them to talk. At that time I was not aware of the shooting at the Jail and any casualties having occurred.

When I enquired what was the cause of this excitement I was told that shooting had taken place at the Jail and that there were several dead and wounded in the mosque. I was taken round to one corner of the mosque where I was shown several dead and wounded. It was stated that there were other wounded also in the other corner of the mosque.

So far as I can remember there were 8 or 9 dead bodies that I saw and several wounded.

I realized that the crowd was very excited with all these dead and wounded there. I told Mr. Mohammed Yusuf to do his utmost to calm the people and try to get them away to their homes before dark. They asked for medical aid which I promised to send. I then left the mosque and proceeded to Maharajganj where I found the Military had arrived. I met Major Balwan Singh, Commandant Palace Guard to whom I made over the charge of the detachment and went on immediately to Ram Nivas to report the situation to His Highness.

Soon after I got there His Highness ordered Mr. Wakefield and myself to proceed to Juma Masjid where we went. Mr. Wakefield and I went inside the mosque. On this my second visit I found that the crowd in the mosque had considerably decreased. We went round and saw again some of the dead and wounded. Mr. Wakefield took Saad-ud-Din Shawl and others to one side and in my presence induced them to get the people away without trouble and if possible to arrange for the burial of the dead in the night without any procession. We then returned and made our report to His Highness.

On the 15th of July in the morning news came in of a disturbance in the Nawa-bazar. I was ordered to proceed there. I went in a car and while I was trying to find my way there I was told that a funeral procession consisting of several hundreds of Mohammedans was proceeding. I chased this procession round and eventually came across the so-called procession resting by the road side near a Military Picket. I found that the procession consisted of about 12 men carrying three *charpoy*s with one dead and two wounded. These casualties were said to have occurred at Nawa-bazar. As far as I remember this party was going to the Juma Masjid. I considered this unadvisable and decided to send them on to the State hospital.

Just then Brigadier Sutherland arrived and two lorries with Infantry detachment also came along. We utilized the lorries to send these men away to the State hospital.

Then with Brigadier Sutherland I moved on to the Nawa bazar where shooting had been reported to have taken place. Brigadier Sutherland made necessary enquiries there.

These are the two occasions when I was sent out on duty.

On a couple of other occasions also I accompanied Brigadier Sutherland, General Janak Singh and Mr. Wakefield just for a tour of the city.

EXHIBIT No. 98.

Written Statement of Nanak Chand Anand, B. A., LL. B., Pleader (Witness No. 84).

On the 13th of July last I had to attend the trial of Abdul Qadeer accused in the Central Jail, Srinagar, as one of the defence counsel. I reached Jail at about 12 p. m. accompanied by Maulvi Mohammed Abdullah and Gulam Mohammed. We remained in the outer compound of the Jail, for the Sessions Judge had not till then arrived. He reached there at about 1 p. m. His car was closely followed by a mob of Mohammedans, shouting slogans "Alla-O-Akbar", "Abdul Qadeer Zindabad". The Sessions Judge alighted from his car and came into the compound where we were standing. The mob that was following his car forced its way in through the wooden gate, inspite of best efforts on the part of Police constables present there. The Sessions Judge then entered the room where the trial was to be held. I was still in the outer compound and saw that the mob made for the iron gate of the Jail. I went inside and informed the Sessions Judge about it. Thereupon he asked Mr. Gulam Mohammed to go out and to pacify the mob. Accordingly I and Gulam Mohammed both came out and saw Maulvi Mohammed Abdullah speaking to the mob who had receded from the iron gate and whose staples were being repaired. The mob then went out of the Jail with the exception of a few.

There is a garden outside the Jail and the mob found its way into it. I could however see from a distance that one of them got up on the door of the garden with a cigar in his mouth and was speaking to the mob. The place of trial was then shifted to the room just over the iron gate. There we were all seated, when District Magistrate accompanied by some Police force arrived. In the meanwhile City Magistrate and Additional District Magistrate also arrived. These gentlemen had assembled in the room adjacent to that where we were seated. I heard words to the following effect, "Go out, recognise the miscreants to effect arrest". The answer was that he could not recognise them. Whereupon he was told, "Mind it. It is Government duty. I shall have you dismissed to-morrow". Then, as I learnt, some Police constable went out and arrested the miscreants. Subsequently I heard some one saying:—

اگر وہ بین گولی چلانے کی اجازت نہ ملی تو ہم مارے جائیں گے کیونکہ باہر سے ہم پر پتھر برسائے جا رہے ہیں

Then I heard the word "Fire". Shots were fired and I came near the window to see what was happening. On one side Police constables were firing and from the opposite side the mob was pelting stones. The mob then dispersed and Police constables arrested some of them. Subsequently I learnt that Police barracks were set on fire. After some time Military arrived, and I along with Gulam Mohammed and Maulvi Mohammed Abdullah left the Jail and I went to Maharajganj via Navid Kadal.

By the time I reached there looting had already started and the Military had also arrived there.

On the 16th of Sawan I left this place for the Punjab and during my absence a letter was delivered to my brother, threatening me with death in case I shall give false statement before the Enquiry Commission, a copy of which I attach herewith.

EXHIBIT No. 99.

Written Statement of Pt. Maheshwar Nath Munshi son of late Pt. Krishen Joo Munshi (Witness No. 85).

Respectfully I beg to submit that on 29th of Har 1988 corresponding to 13th July 1931 my father late Pt. Krishen Joo Munshi resident of 5th Bridge Rang-teng-Srinagar, was returning from Amira Kadal accompanied by his friend and cousin.

At Nawa-bazar they were innocently attacked by a huge furious Muslim mob with stones, Lathies, shoes, and what not at more than one place where they had a narrow escape from death.

In the way they were given shelter by some respectable Muslims at two or three places some of whom were familiar with them and their family elders who took pity on their pitiable case and ventured so far as to accompany them to Vedh Lal Zutshi's house where there were many Pandits taking shelter and thence to their homes.

At about 6 p. m. when I reached home from office I heard from my father the above doleful tale in detail with great pain and sorrow. After some minutes I learnt that he had again gone out to search for his little son who was out. Anxious about both my father and brother I also hurried out against the wishes of my house and began to search for them both outside. At a little distance from house a voice came that a Muslim mob had raided the Pandits at Kawdara and that people were running to Maharajganj to call for help. Immediately some men of Cavalry marched against the Kawdara raiders and some of us pursued them to search for our missing people at Kawdara when the Cavalry went out of sight. There I noticed that my father and brother and some of other Pandits were returning home and the looters had dispersed into small lanes and shops by the march of the Cavalry. But unfortunately when the cavalry went out of sight the rash mob collected again round the Pandits and attacked us on all sides and began to pelt stones with great force. Those who could, ran at the top of their speed and escaped death but some like my father who were old were captured on the road and beaten furiously ignoring the law altogether. Out of those who were caught some chanced to escape though they were beaten but my father who was putting his hands inside the Kashmiri *Pheran* and using the wooden sandle could get no time to save himself till he was beaten very badly.

I learnt that one of the rebels hallowed to his fellows "go aside and let me in as you don't know how to kill a *Kafir*" with that he dashed a big stone against his naked skull and immediately a fountain of blood juttet out of his head and then and there he began to reel.

On seeing that they had nearly done away with the Pandit it was rumoured that the Cavalry had returned, the mob dispersed altogether. I who had gone to call for help returned by this time with my uncle and some others and found to our great disappointment at distance that he was leaning by the side of the Police Lorry with his head and clothes besmeared with blood. We took him home where he lost his consciousness immediately.

All this took place in course of a few minutes. It is regretted to submit that although the murderer has been charged guilty by the Police but so far he has not been arrested.

The Doctor who was called at once said that the case was very serious and that his brain had received compression owing to severe blows on head.

In the morning no Doctor from the hospital dared to come through the city at his risk till the patient lost his life, though Doctor Bhalla and Gwasha Lal were earnestly requested. They also pleaded rush of work. On the 3rd day the dead body was carried to the hospital where the remarks of our family Doctor were confirmed.

Afterwards the dead body was brought home for performance of funeral rites and the Police was requested to make arrangements for providing a guard as well as a lorry to enable us to reach the cremating place which has its way through the Mohammedan areas far away from the city. The traffic even in the city guarded by Police and Military was dangerous not to say of it—outside the city. All the Police officers on duty paid no heed to our repeated requests and thus we were greatly distressed had it not been due to the kindness of Mr. Wakefield and Mr. Wattel who immediately arrived at Maharajganj and consented to hear our requests. Feeling it to be quite reasonable they saved our lives by ordering the Police to supply us with a lorry guarded by Police to and fro.

EXHIBIT No. 100.

Written Statement of Pt. Dina Nath Arigam, 2nd Bridge, Srinagar (Witness No. 86).

I am the Manager of two Koula Dispensaries owned by Dr. Deva Koul Sahib. I do in times of need the dispensing too. I go to the Habba Kadal Koula Dispensary in morning and in after-noon to Maharajganj dispensary. On 13th July 1931, after taking my meals I reached the latter at about 12-30 p. m.

I was working inside (indispensing room) at about 2 p. m. I abruptly heard some strange and unusual noise. I came out. I saw excited mob on the road a little away from the dispensary. It was led by Dr. Abdul Wahid. He said aloud "What are you seeing begin your work". Within a twinkling of eye, a portion of mob rushed into the dispensary headed by Ahmed Shah the compounder of Dr. Abdul Wahid.

They first of all belaboured me and flunged me on the metal road. This gave me the opportunity to escape and save my life. The compounder also met with same fate. We cried for help, but the Police did not run to rescue. The dispensary is located on the ground floor of the building in which on the first floor the Police Chowki is housed. Here I produce the photos of the dispensary after looting. This will explain the devastation, the dispensary has sustained. The officers who came on the spot after the looters did their full, have seen the wretched plight of the dispensary.

I have identified some of the looters that entered the dispensary because they lived there (in Maharajganj).

EXHIBIT No. 102.

Written Statement of Pirzada Ghulam Rasul, Head Master Islamia High School, Srinagar (Witness No. 87).

The following brief statement of my impressions on the day of disturbance and subsequently may be of use.

1. On 13th July 1931 while returning from the school and reaching Zena Kadal, I saw a Hindu boy dragging a Muslim urchin, who was piteously crying. Soon his mother came out and there was a tug-of-war between the old mother and the Hindu boy. A Military Cavalry man was looking on. I invited his attention to the incident. He came of course, and gave a severe beating to the old mother and the Muslim boy.

While crossing the bridge I saw a large number of Pandits and Khattris accompanied by the Military entering the Hanji's boats and beating the boatmen and women and throwing away their property. Myself and Mr. Sadar-ud-Din of the Foreign Department, whom I met on the bridge pointed this out to a Military man, whose reply was "These Badmashes deserve severe beating".

While at home, on 15th, I saw a man coming down from the shop of a physician opposite to my house. A small Pandit boy accompanied by the Military passing that way, caught hold of this man, put him in a lorry and took him away.

2. I went to Maharajganj along with the President and certain other members of the Municipality on 16th July 1931, and found the entire locality deserted by Muslims. There was the Police and Military and most of them were the chief occupants of Hindu merchants' shops. On our request some of the Hindu merchants opened their shops. A little away from Maharajganj we met some Muslims and some of them complained to me that they were being enormously harrassed by the Military and Police at Maharajganj and were not allowed to pass that way. On enquiry I found that they were residents living in the vicinity of Maharajganj. We proceeded on, and reaching Ganiatmanz found that the Muslims were in the most pitiable plight. They made serious complaints about the Military and Police, alleging that their houses had been entered into by the Military, their property looted and modesty of their women outraged. At the urgent request of one of the Muslims present, the President, myself and Mr. Mohammed Sadiq entered his house and found that some of his property was actually absent. Thereafter we proceeded to Kaw Dara, requesting the people to remove *hartal* and open shops without any effect. From Kawa Dara we returned home and resumed our tour at about 4 p. m. after taking our meals. We went to Safa Kadal and there also we were given a heart-rending account of the excesses committed by the Police and Military. At the request of one Muslim resident who complained that his house had been looted by the Hindus and Military, window-panes broken and wood-carving smashed, myself and Mr. Mohammed Sadiq, another Municipal Commissioner, entered his residence and found corroborative evidence in the form of broken windows and smashed wood-carving articles. Wherever we went we found the Muslims panic-stricken and this invariably made complaints against the Military and the Police making common cause with local Hindus and ransacking their houses, looting their property, assaulting them, beating them and in some cases arresting them without cause. It was also complained in most places, especially at Kaw Dara and Safa Kadal, that the Military were entertained by the local Hindus and kept under influence. We visited Vicharnag the same day and inspected some four houses alleged to have been looted. Apparently there had been some trouble but a careful inspection convinced me that the story of loot was exaggerated if true at all.

3. On 18th July 1931 a report came to us (myself and Mohammed Sadiq) that four Muslims had been killed at Want Bhawan. This caused some excitement among Musalmans. We had to contradict rumours and restore confidence among the people in accordance with the decisions arrived at in a meeting held at Ram Nivas on 15th July 1931. Therefore, we personally went there to ascertain whether the report was true. On reaching Nowshehra which is on the way to Wanta Bhawan, Muslims complained that they had been looted and mercilessly beaten by the Hindus and the Military and that their houses had been ransacked and property carried away. It was also said that a woman who was pregnant, Jani by name, was so much harrassed by Hindus and Military when they entered her house that she fell down from a window and met with an instantaneous death. Another woman (Azizi) said that, in the absence of her husband, the Military and the Hindus entered her house, robbed her of 1,000 pounds and took away from her house all the property they could lay their hands on. Then we proceeded to Vicharnag and found that the rumour was not correct and that no death had taken place that day. We sat in a Police station there for about one hour. There were two Police officers both non-Muslims. They were surrounded by Pandits. We left the station, got some Hindus with us and reached back to Nowshehra and there we called some Muslims and asked both the communities to open their shops, restore peace and confidence. The Muslims unanimously complained that the Hindus and the Military had looted their houses and that the Police officers were under the influence of Hindus and therefore did not listen to their complaints. Some of the Muslims as we were told did not dare approach us as they were very much panic-stricken. When we returned our homes, we contradicted the rumour and pacified the people.

In this connection it may also be remarked that we myself, Mr. Mohammed Sidiq and Kh. Ali Mohammed, Municipal Commissioners, wrote a joint letter to the President Municipality informing him of excesses committed by the Military and stating that the situation would have been eased long ago if the behaviour of the Military had been sober.

General.

The present unrest is, in my opinion, due to a number of causes and had been growing gradually and naturally for the last twenty years or so.

It was about 30 years ago that wise men among the Muslims felt convinced that the educational advancement of their community was impossible in the Government schools, which were staffed almost entirely by Hindu teachers and officers. So long as the Government school Srinagar was headed over by a Muslim Sheikh Ziyaullah about 40 years back, the number of Muslim scholars, it is said, was comparatively large, but after his departure, the Government High School Srinagar, and the subsequently started S. P. High School Srinagar, have rarely had the good fortune to have been headed over by a Muslim and consequently the number of Muslim students in both these schools has been inconsiderable. The subordinate staff in both these and all other Government schools has all along been mostly Hindu. The un-sympathetic and in most cases an almost antagonistic treatment, that the Muslim students have been accorded has been one of the main reasons of the Muslim backwardness in education. To remedy this the Muslim community, though so poor, was compelled to start a school of own with adequate arrangement for the teaching of religious subjects without which any education would be considered meaningless by them. The school grew and in its early stages received little help from the Government. It was raised to the High standard in 1909 and several branch schools were opened. Today it has a roll of Muslim students much larger than can be shown by all the Government High Schools combined, modestly equipped as the High school and the branches are with regard to staff, apparatus, material and inducement in the form of scholarships, prizes and other help, they continue to attract the largest number of

Muslims about 2,000, and have so far turned out about 200 Matriculates and 600 Middle passed man. That the Muslims should join the Islamia High School in preference to Government schools, where scholarships are available and the teaching of Arabic also apparently provided, clearly shows that the attitude of the staff and difficulties that Muslim students meet with in these schools are so serious that less brilliantly equipped Islamia school is considered by Muslims a securer place to receive their education in. Besides Islamia High and its branch schools under the Anjuman Nasratul Islam Srinagar, there are other Muslim schools also and have fairly large number of Muslim students. Khankah Maula Middle School and the Imamia Middle School with its branches in Srinagar, the Hanfia High School, the Islamia Middle School and their branches in Islamabad, are supplying the additional need of the community in education. Most of the smaller towns and nearly all important villages have their own Maktabas, where boys go freely in preference to the local Government schools, where the teacher is generally a very unsympathetic Hindu and religious subjects are not taught, as the Arabic teacher is so in name only and actually he teaches the general subjects mostly. That all this expense in maintaining these schools by a community which is on the whole, poor and in circumstances when, in their backwardness, their need could easily be fulfilled by the Government schools, is a serious indictment on the latter. In this connection it would not be out of place to mention that definite recommendations were made from time to time to the Government from different sources for the advancement of education among the Muslims. In 1913 as a result of the decision arrived at in the All-India Mohammedan Educational Conference Aligarh, a deputation of leading men of India, headed by Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, waited upon His late Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur and presented an address detailing the grievances of the Muslims in education and suggesting remedy. Most of these received little attention, and how one of the recommendations was carried out will be described subsequently. Owing to further representation, the Government invited in 1916, the Honourable Mr. Sharp, Government of India expert in education, to make a tour throughout the valley and make recommendations. Mr. Sharp, inspected a number of schools according to a programme previously arranged by the Government and wrote out his report, which, however has remained confidential. This gave the Muslims a further cause for complaint, as they believed that the recommendations were in their favour and the Government, not wishing to carry them out, had intentionally kept the report back from the public. Between this date and 1922 various representations were made by the local bodies and leading individuals urging upon the Minister concerned the keen need of helping Muslims in their education. About 1920 the University threatened the disaffiliation of the Islamia High School on the ground, among others, that the building was not situated in a healthy locality and that the finances were not sound. In this connection too, the Government help was sought and the site of a mosque under Government control, was requested for to be granted as also a special grant, but to no purpose. Finding all requests for redress to the concerned Minister useless, the Anjuman Nasratul Islam one of the most influential local bodies of which the President is the Mir Waiz of Kashmir, submitted in 1922 a representation to His late Highness through the then Senior and Foreign Member (our present benign Sovereign). About the same time the Muslim students of the Government institutions approached the Minister with a memorial detailing their difficulties and hardships. These also did not improve the matters much and Muslims continued to receive unsatisfactory treatment from the Education Department. A special subordinate Muslim officer was appointed to look after the education of Muslims as a result of the recommendations of the All India Mohammedan Educational Conference deputation, but it was about this time that on one pretext or another he was, like the Arabic teachers under Government primary schools, made to work as an ordinary Assistant Inspector

though, curiously enough, his designation "of Assistant Inspector for Mohammedan Education" was, and is still, retained, notwithstanding the fact that he does not function, in his duty, in the slightest manner possible, for the Mohammedan education and is like other Assistant Inspectors discharging ordinary duties in a specified Illaqa. It was also about this time that Kashmir Province was deprived of the Muslim Inspector of Schools, who though actually altogether powerless to help, still served as a check against the Hindu mischief. All along these serious grievances in the matter of education, the Muslim subjects had other political and social grievances, which they may have been representing to the authorities for redress. Prior to this, there had been the labour trouble at Sericulture the main cause of which was supposed to be the oppression experienced by the Muslim labour. About the same time the encroachment of non-Muslims over Hara-Masjid, the dispute over the prayer platforms at Islamabad and Baramulla and the indignity offered to Zuljanah almost plunged the entire country into an unprecedented discontent and would have given rise to serious consequences but for the wise and personal intervention of our present gracious Sovereign then the Senior and Foreign Member. These need not be mentioned here nor the agitation carried on in regard to them, which culminated in 1924 or 1925 at the time of Lord Reading's visit to Kashmir as Viceroy of India, in the preparation and presentation of a memorial to the Viceroy signed by 9 or 10 leaders of the Muslim community. This, it is said, contained in brief the main grievances of Muslim community at that time.

As a result of the action taken by the Government against the signatories of the memorial, a series of articles, in support of the Muslim grievances, appeared in the Punjab press and gave the educated Muslims an idea of the grievances as touched in the memorial, which remained otherwise confidential.

A little before this, as a result of agitation carried on in a Madrass English Weekly "United India" and "Indian States" by a certain local Hindu to oust non-State subjects from Government service, a Committee under His late Highness' command was set up to collect evidence and to make recommendations as to the exact definition of "State Subject".

Knowing from past experience that this was a further move to exploit the Muslims by eliminating the element that could be slightly less antagonistic to Muslim interests than the local Hindus, the Muslim witnesses, whether from the city or the Mufassil, urged, in more or less equally strong terms, the desirability of leaving it open in the matter of services, for the non-State subject Muslims to be recruited in State service. Most of the witnesses were unanimous in the belief that, after the definition was framed, if non-State subjects were debarred from service, they would form easy victims of the Hindu predominance without any buffer. The simile quoted by one of the witnesses then is so original that it must be mentioned. He likened the Muslims to dumb sheep and the non-State subject officials and local Hindus to lion and tiger, keeping each other at bay and thereby secure, for intervals, the dumb sheep. In this connection particular attention is invited to the introductory remarks prefixed to the evidence tendered by Mr. G. A. Ashai, who represented the educated Muslim class and the view taken by the intelligentsia among the community (copy enclosed).

These views of the Muslim leaders were not given due weight and soon, after the definition was framed, recruitment to State service was confined to the bonafide hereditary State subjects only. But subsequent practice demonstrated that this limitation too was to work against Muslims only. Importation of Muslims from outside was stopped while that of non-Muslims continued. The A. G., D. A. G., the Finance Minister, the Registrars of Co-operative Department, the D. I. G. P. Jammu, the Director of Education and others were brought in.

Soon after this, with the ascension to the throne of our present benign Sovereign, representations continued to be made and the press and the public received a further impetus in this direction by the publication of Sir Albion Banerji's statement. But with change, the expectations of the Muslims, that justice would be done to them and their education advanced, rose very high and they believed that their grievances would be soon removed and their education speeded up. Representations in the form of resolutions and requests continued to be made. About a year or so ago, the Srinagar Municipal President issued advertisements for filling up of certain posts, requiring only Muslim qualified men to apply. This created a storm in the Hindu press and public and notices were received by members of the Committee protesting against this advertisement. Now, the Srinagar Municipality has, barring the sweepers and Bahishties whose Mates and Darogas are mostly non-Muslims, very few Muslim employees, perhaps at that time hardly more than three. The number of vacancies, then available, was much larger than that advertised and subsequently, it was found that, before the reorganization of the Municipal Department, sufficient number of non-Muslims, presumably on information conveyed to them beforehand by their brethren, who could be in the know of the scheme, were found duly trained and qualified for the newly created posts. On allotment of vacancies, the largest number fell to their lot and very few Muslims out of a large number of applicants received provision. Very few menial posts even were awarded to Muslims. This gave the Muslim public a shock and a severe shake. They believed that the object of the President's advertisement was to start a propaganda against the Muslims and actually deprive them of their share by creating strong opposition. It was again stated that overhauling the entire administration of the corporation, against immediate requirements, of making it top-heavy by having 8 Ward Officers, 8 Sanitary Inspectors, 8 Sub-Overseers, 8 Tax Inspectors, 8 Tax Jamadrs, 8 Ward Clerks, 8 Ward Peons and 26 other posts, was only to find employment for an army of idle non-Muslims who had been previously apprised of the scheme and had, therefore, qualified themselves for the newly created posts. This arrangement was, again, not liked by the Muslim public in as much as it did not benefit them by making the disposal quicker, sanitation better or red tapisim less irksome. In this connection, a hot controversy was carried on in the press and, as some Muslim newspapers had been banned entry into the State previously for violent writings, which, however, it was alleged, were matched by the Hindu press, which escaped proscription, the Muslims felt at a great disadvantage and attributed all this to their absence from Government services and the exclusive influence which the non-Muslims had. The reorganised constitution of the Municipal Committee about this time gave the Muslims a great cause for complaint. Out of the 16 members forming the Board (8 elected by joint electorates and 8 nominated) Muslims have 5 elected seats and 2 nominated against 9 non-Muslims who thus form a majority when actually they are in a small minority in the city.

It was about this time that a record number (for this community) of highly educated Muslims returned to Kashmir, after completing their studies in the plains. Somehow, it happened that a set of rules for recruitment in Government services were sanctioned and these were believed to have been passed only to check them out of services, as it was argued, that they would not ordinarily have synchronised with the availability of so many highly qualified Muslims. It was urged that the necessity for such rules should have been anticipated or their sanction could have been deferred till this batch of Muslims was adequately provided for. Happening as this did, immediately in the vicinity of the Municipal Committee advertisement, and subsequent appointments there, it had a very agitating effect on the public mind.

Appointment of large number of non-Muslims in connection with the opening of Compulsory Education Schools as general teachers, when equally qualified Muslims were made Arabic teachers, evoked persistent

protests and representations, but to no purpose. It was felt that the arrangement was also a serious blow to the reading of Arabic in schools. About this time the educated young Muslims put in a strong representation and some of their representatives discussed the matter with the Members of the Cabinet, which was functioning in the absence of His Highness and the composition of which, as also of the Recruitment Board, which had no Muslim representation, was causing grave misgivings. The reply of the Cabinet to this representation, was considered very unsatisfactory and the grievances of the Muslims were ventilated in some newspapers but without any effect. Simultaneously the Director of Education published certain rules regarding Recruitment of candidates in the Education Department. These were found to ignore the Muslims' claims and resolutions, protesting against them, were passed by the Anjuman Nasratul Islam at least, and the entire policy of these rules criticised. The Selection Board and the rules regarding examinations were considered unsatisfactory. No matric was, however, taken and large number of non-Muslims continued to be employed in the Education Department, partly under the pretence of preference being given to teachers' son.

Finding the Vernacular press articles ignored, the educated Muslims sent up a memorial to the Minister concerned with a letter from the Editor, Muslim Outlook, Lahore, promising to confine itself to legitimate criticism only, requesting that the ban from this paper be removed. This again was ignored. About this time at the request of certain old boys of the Islamia High School, the idea of inaugurating Old Boy's Association was taken up and the organisation was primarily intended to collect funds for distribution as scholarships and stipends to deserving students. A meeting was held and the draft rules framed and it was believed that the Association being attached to a recognised school and subordinate to a recognised Anjuman, no special sanction was needed for such beneficial aims. But soon the Governor banned the Association pending sanction, which was applied for in January 1930 but has never since been received. The educated Muslims and the sympathisers of the Islamia High School considered this to be an indication of official discouragement and felt aggrieved.

Sometime back the Accountant General published an advertisement asking a few, Muslim graduates to apply for vacancies in his office. This was a move similar to that of the President Municipal Committee and had the same results. Non-Muslims were actually appointed and one Muslim graduate at least, Hidayatullah was not taken in.

The Accountant General again advertised last year for the services of a Muslim law graduate as Stamp Inspector. On receiving applications of duly qualified Muslims including one from a very brilliant first class graduate of meritorious career in Law College, A. A. Fazili, the appointment of a inferior Hindu graduate was actually sanctioned and more deserving Muslims' claims ignored. This again had a very disagreeable effect of showing that such advertisement and subsequent appointments were made with a set object in view which was clearly not the one to encourage Muslims.

These complaints were freely brought to public notice in the daily Inqilab of Lahore which published statistical statement of almost every department with long comments challenging contradiction. But all of a sudden even this means of ventilating their grievances was stopped and the paper proscribed. Simultaneously with these happenings a certain plot of land believed to form property of Zaldager Mosque was occupied and added to his residential quarters by Mr. R. C. Kak, Foreign Secretary. The encroachment of non-Muslims on the prayer platforms of Muslims at Islamabad and Baramulla, still fresh in their memory, and the past experience of usurpation of mosque and grave-yard lands at Safa Kadal,

Drugjan and other places, the Muslim public took alarm and the people made ceaseless efforts to regain the possession thereof.

It was during these days that the happy tidings of the auspicious birth gave the Muslims a new hope and a fresh desire to place their grievances before His Highness in person, as by this time, as a result of the past experience they had lost all confidence in the subordinate officers. This proved the occasion of great celebration and jubilation and for the time being the people forgot their own woes. So far, the agitation was exclusively against the Government, and Hindus, as a community, were left untouched, though certain Hindu officials were believed to be conspiring to keep down the Muslims.

The return of the Sovereign was eagerly awaited for, and fondly looked to. It was at this time that Pandit Bala Kak Dhar, Wazir Bara-mulla, invited to his house at Srinagar certain Zaildars and Nambardars, some selected men of the city and after treating them to tea placed before them the proposal of presenting a joint tea party to His Highness on his return. The idea was warmly welcomed, but Muslims present there, subsequently, believed that the joint tea party was conceived only to place the Pandit at their head as president and in order to secure him an advancement with the help of Muslims, which at a subsequent meeting of the Muslims, they refused to lend. It was further alleged that the whole thing was manœuvred cleverly beforehand and Muslims were entrapped into the agreement. The entire arrangement was very much resented and several meetings were held repudiating Pandit Bala Kak as president. Separate arrangements were made and subscriptions raised to present an address of welcome and tea party to the Sovereign on his return on behalf of the Muslim community and this movement was joined in by almost all the leaders of the city and the Mufassil. A deputation of 3 respectable Muslim citizens was authorised to proceed to Bombay and place the proposal before the Personal Secretary.

The proposal, however, was not accepted and the Muslims supposed that this refusal was the result of non-Muslim influence in the Durbar. It caused wide-spread disappointment as it appears that the leaders had centered great hopes in this occasion and the people had believed that they would be afforded an opportunity to make a show of their love, loyalty and devotion to their august ruler and incidentally invite his gracious attention to their grievances. The return of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur and his entry into Srinagar was the occasion of unprecedented scenes of devotion and unparalleled demonstrations of love and loyalty.

The series of articles appearing in the *Inqilab* was, after its proscription continued in a freshly started Weekly of Lahore, the *Kashmiri Musalman*, which followed more or less, the same method of quoting statistics of various Government Departments, though not in the happiest language, showing the absence of Muslim elements and quoting instances of how Muslim candidates were unfairly treated. The paper had a wide-spread sale throughout the country and created a sensation.

About this time the incidents of stopping the *Khutba* and insult to the holy Quran at Jammu were brought to the public notice in the *Kashmiri Musalman* and in posters published by Jammu Muslim Anjuman, and as most of these originated with the acts of Government officials, who, it was alleged, were not adequately punished, there was a general feeling that Islam was in danger. In this connection most people drew a contrast between the punishment given in these cases and that meted out to Pandit Har Gopal Koul who, more than 25 years ago, was exiled for a similar allegation. This supposed danger to religion created a wide-spread unrest and protest meetings were held in Juma Masjid and other places. The posting of a notice by the Governor at the Juma Masjid, prohibiting lectures therein, lent a further confirmation to the common opinion and forced even those who still wavered to join the

agitation and the entire country was thrown into a ferment of excitement. It was at about this time, decided to elect representatives from the community, who would place their grievances before the august Sovereign, from whom alone the people hoped to receive redress, as it was alleged that all previous representations had suffered because they were alleged not to have been placed before the Sovereign in their proper perspective. The Governor, however, sent for the presidents and secretaries of the local Anjumans and asked them to hold a public meeting and select representatives. He also permitted some educated youngmen, who were, till then, leading the movement, to hold a meeting for the same purpose. This was generally taken to mean that dis-union was sought to be created and the real object defeated. This idea as well as the alleged attack on religion helped to create a fusion and a unity among the many sects of the community which is unprecedented. The youngmen thought that they had seen through the alleged trick and they joined with the local representative bodies and held a big meeting on 21st June 1931 at Khankah-i-Mualla which was joined by all parties and sects. It was in this meeting that a fresh allegation of insult to the Quran in Bana Mahalla was brought to notice. In this meeting 7 representatives were selected and a resolution of gratitude and loyalty to His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur was passed, and the main facts of the Jammu incident of profanation were repeated and dissatisfaction evinced at the result of the official enquiry which was said to be one-sided and partial. It is said that, it was on this day, that the now memorable speech by Abdul Qadeer was made. It is also said that about the same day meetings confirming these proceedings and detailing grievances were held at Sopore, Islamabad and other places. Soon after this, while the public mind was seriously agitated, His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur summoned the two Mir Waizes to His august presence and told them the results of the investigation held into the Jammu incident of the alleged insult to the holy Quran. It was understood that both the reporter and the accused would be equally punished. This royal gusture of grace created a very good impression and soothing effect. But on learning from the press statement that the alleged culprit was retired, the public thought that the punishment was not adequate, but they still awaited an explanation from the Jammu Anjumans, which, when it came, did not corroborate the official version. On the following Friday, at the request of the Governor both the Mir Waizes went to Hazratbal, where there was a congregation of about 40,000, and the Municipal Commissioners, Government officials and the leading men of the city as also the Governor, the Wazir Wazarat, the District Inspector General, etc. were present. The people, however, refused to attend the Governors' meeting and left in a body for the Juma Masjid, 3 miles away. Only a small gathering remained and they refused to listen till some of their representatives talked to them. After acquainting them with the result of the investigation of the Jammu affair, the meeting was terminated but the people dispersed in excitement.

While all these events were taking place here, the Hindu press was giving currency to wild rumours, such as that the Muslims wanted to seek permission for cow-killing and establishing their own Raj. In spite of these being contradicted the rumours continued to grow and were made much of. The Hindu Associations at Srinagar and Jammu started an agitation and the Circular Notice (Izhar-i-Haq) of the Yuwak Sabha of Jammu served to explain the Hindu mentality in this respect. In all their meetings a communal tinge was given to the entire matter and the minds of the Hindu public were poisoned by this propaganda to a very great extent *i. e.* boycott movement. Wild rumours about violent speeches made against Muslims in Hindu meetings were common, and it was believed that connivance of the Government over these speeches and absence of any action being taken against the Hindu press for this wild talk as against the drastic action taken against the Muslim papers—the Kashmiri Musalman had been proscribed about this time—were believed to be an

attempt on the part of a section of the Government, to create communal tension and thereby deprive the Muslims to approach their Sovereign for redress and defeat them in their object. Meantime the 4 representatives from Jammu arrived and their procession was forbidden.

The taking out of the procession of a dead Pandit girl and the slogans used in that procession were supposed to be direct results of this propaganda. It was about this time that the Governor informed the representatives that so long as the communal tension did not disappear, the demands of the community could not be presented. This intensified the displeasure of the people, who thought that they were not responsible for this tension and should not therefore suffer. In this obstacle they saw that those who had vested interests in service and who gained by depriving Muslims of their rights, had again succeeded in their object of cleverly keeping back the Muslims from receiving the redress which they had strived and hoped for.

The reading out of the Gracious Message from the Sovereign at the Exhibition grounds by the Governor helped only to increase the suspicion. The translation of this message in Kashmiri was read by me and it so displeased the community that during the following days, wherever I went, I was accosted with the cries of "Shame". I argued with people and found that the cause of dissatisfaction was that the fixed percentage in service for the Muslims had been refused to be conceded and this, when the Muslims claimed a representation in service proportionate to their population. Another objection advanced was that religious freedom was conditioned to maintenance of public peace which was taken to mean that any religious ceremony or observance could be stopped, if so desired, by non-Muslims just as the Muslim demands had been kept back by creating communal tension. It was further urged that the Muslims were unnecessarily made to suffer for communal tension which was not of their creation. In short universal dissatisfaction was expressed with the purport of the message which I think was not fully and carefully understood.

The public mind was thus keenly agitated when the case against Abdul Qadeer was started. The common people believing that his speech was in defence of the dignity of the holy Quran, attended the hearing of the case at the Court as also on 13th at the Jail, where the people, believing that his sentence was to be pronounced, had congregated in large numbers.

About the happenings at the Jail and other places in the city I can not say anything except what I have seen personally which is very little and has been detailed in the opening part of this statement. I shall conclude this portion of the statement with the remark that there is a common feeling among Muslims that the behaviour of the Military and the authorities throughout the disturbances was neither impartial nor one to create confidence. The Military, who, it is said, were exclusively Hindu, were freely entertained by the Hindu citizens with whom they fraternised and remained under their influence. It is further alleged that the Muslim complainants received no attention or consideration whereas, wildest statements of the non-Muslims were hailed as gospel truth. It is a fact that several mosques were desecrated and one Muslim shrine at least severely damaged, when actually no temple was molested. It can not be said how far the anti-Muslim propaganda carried on immediately before these incidents in the Hindu press and platform had its effect upon the subsequent behaviour of the Hindu citizens, the Military and the authorities. However it is a fact that in localities where Hindus form only a very small minority no molestation is reported which shows that anti-Hindu feelings, if present, at all were not in any way universal.

PART II.

I have sketched in the briefest terms possible a statement of facts leading to the present unrest. It remains for me to give a few details of the actual working of the Education Department and a few instances of what treatment is meted out to the Muslims in other departments.

I must state here that the Muslims are essentially a loyal community and have full confidence in the benign Sovereign, whom the Muslims believe to be an enlightened ruler and who has since his accession to the throne, been pleased to enact several wholesome measures which were designed to benefit the Muslims primarily. But how they are being carried out into actual practice will be illustrated by an investigation into the trouble given to the agriculturist in the matter of forest trees standing in their holdings which were granted, as a royal boon to them.

That the Muslims are educationally backward needs no emphasis but after 40 years activity of the Government Education Department, can it be said that such state of affairs is a source of pride or matter of credit to this department or the administration? It is one thing to devote a special notice to the Muslim education in the Annual Administration Report or to designate an ordinary Assistant Inspector of Schools as Assistant Inspector for Mohammedan Education or to designate certain teachers as Arabic teachers when actually they are made to work mostly as general teachers, or still further to ear-mark a certain inadequate amount of scholarships to this community. This may serve the purpose of propaganda but can not advance Muslim education. It is a fact that 10 years back the Dogra community was as backward in education as, if not more than the Muslims and today we find large number of them manning the services and occupying very responsible positions in the Government. Such backward community due to brilliant encouragement occupies posts and appointments then number of which can favourably compare with their proportion in population.

I have already said that the absence of adequate representation of Muslims on the teaching and inspecting staff of the Government institutions is in a large manner responsible of the present backwardness of the Muslim education. I shall give a few examples to substantiate this statement. About 10 or 12 years ago, a large number of Muslim and Hindu boys of the 5th Primary class were examined in the Government High School, Srinagar for promotion to 6th class by one of the Hindu teachers. The results tabulated by him showed most of the Muslims as failures and most of the Hindu boys as passes. On the representation of a Muslim teacher who happened then to be on the staff, a re-examination was held by an independant officer whose results showed most of the Muslims to have passed and a larger number of Pandits shown to have passed to have actually failed. In the village schools, it is a most common experience to see Muslim boys of the school as engaged in various errands for the Hindu school teachers who has influence enough with his superior brethren to secure a Primary certificate for any boys he likes, when actually the boy may be almost illiterate. "Illiterate Primary passed boys" is a common phrase with teachers. Last year when the compulsory schools were started in Srinagar, the Education Minister was pleased to notice that only two letters of the alphabet had been taught by the Hindu school teacher during one and half month's schooling.

The city is divided into two parts for the compulsory education, each being in charge of an Attendance Officer who happened during the recent months to be one Muslim and one non-Muslim. I learnt only a few days back that during some months past the Muslim officer has shown an increase of 1,000 and the Hindu officer a decrease of 500 Muslim boys in the schools under his charge.

The handicaps are so serious for the Muslims in the Government institutions that larger number of Muslims continue to join the Muslim private schools even in face of the much coveted inducement of the scholarships tenable in the former. The authorities of the Islamia High School, Srinagar, have been persistently approached by respectable members of the public, during the last two years, to raise the status of the school to that of a full-fledged college.

A look at the staff statement of the two colleges will show that most of the professors are non-State subjects and, barring the incumbent of the Arabic posts, all of them are non-Muslims. It can easily be argued that if suitably qualified Muslims from among the State subjects were not available, Muslims with necessary qualifications could be imported from outside the State as had been done in the case of non-Muslims. In the case of the latter indulgence was shown to the extent that even efficiency was neglected. A mathematical professor, a non-State subject Hindu is only a B. A. and teaches B. A. Classes. The Professor of History, another non-Muslim when appointed to that post, was a graduate in general subjects and had no special qualifications in History. Even as a professor, he failed several times in his M. A. Examination. Individual instances of the very unfair treatment accorded by these professors to Muslim students, who were, in some cases, compelled to give up their studies, are not wanting.

There are other ways of discouraging education and these are frequently resorted to by most non-Muslim teachers. Failing of the Muslim boys and stagnating them and thus creating a distaste for education has already been touched upon. There are instances where these teachers have turned into preachers and induced the young boys to leave off education, telling them they would be losers by joining the school, because even after a certain number of years devoted to education, they shall not be able to secure a job. They corroborate the statement by detailing the condition of some of the most brilliantly educated Muslims, who after years of hard labour, are in receipt of pays which are hardly equal to coolie's wages even. And it is the material benefit conferred by education that count with an educationally backward community. In some cases a certain obsolete rule that student whose parents income is above Rs. 25 p. m. should pay tuition-fee of a fixed scale is brought into operation. The large number of Hindu students who join the Government schools and are comparatively better off, are rarely confronted with this rule, but in the case of Muslims, no attestation is considered valid unless countersigned by a Magistrate and signed by some big man. Another example of the discouragement meted out to Muslims is the apathy of the Hindu teachers towards them and in some cases this antagonistic attitude is so marked that the boys fall off and the schools become defunct.

Coming to the topic of scholarships, it must be stated that our present august Sovereign has been very generous in this respect too. The amount of Muslim scholarships has been considerably increased but it is rarely in the spirit in which they were sanctioned, that they are distributed. In the college the amount for each individual scholarship under Mohammedan Scholarship Head is retained at a higher rate than that sanctioned for merit. The arrangement deprives the Muslims of any merit scholarship and really poor students remain deprived.

In all Government institutions merit scholarships are mostly awarded to non-Muslims and the general impression is that the examinations conducted by the Hindu staff lack integrity. Apart from the merit scholarships, there are large amounts sanctioned as poverty scholarships, orphanage scholarships, cow protection scholarships, depressed classes scholarships and Military scholarships. Of these those under the last are mainly granted to non-Muslims who form overwhelming majority, as in other departments, in the Military.

The definition of the term depressed classes is so devised as to exclude the depressed among the Muslims. The Doms, the Wattals and others are deprived of the benefits of this scholarship on the ground that, as they are included among the Muslim, provision for their scholarships has been made under the Head Mohammedan Scholarships.

Cow protection scholarships are awarded out of the funds collected from the fines from the accused in cow killing cases and are awarded exclusively to non-Muslims. Similar is the case of the orphanage scholarship, where the impression among the concerned officers is that a Muslim need not be an orphan as widow remarriage is permissible under Muslim Law. Poverty scholarships are also mostly granted to non-Muslims, as Muslims are supposed, in the interests of the actually well off non-Muslims, to be too rich to deserve help under this head, just as they have been believed to be rich enough to be able to pay tuition fees generally. Of the merit scholarships, the distribution is determined by the results of the examinations which are conducted in several cases in the manner of which an example has been detailed above. Scholarships and help out of the compassionate fund are similarly granted to non-Muslims and the backward community has very little share. Thus it will be seen that large amounts of money are spent upon education of the communities more advanced in education. The total of the scholarships, actually granted to non-Muslims under these heads, will compare favourably with the amount specially sanctioned for the Muslims with the difference that the help in the case of Muslims is being always noised about, though considering their population and backwardness, the amount should have been much greater.

The State maintains a first class Patshala (for advanced Sanskrit learning) attached to the Government High School Srinagar, and spends a good deal on its maintenance. A similar institution for the advancement of Muslim learning was eagerly applied for to be established by the Muslims, but in vain. Again a Board for propagation of oriental learning was established 10 years ago, but subsequently the name was changed into a Board for propagation of Sanskrit learning, and all benefits, under this head, granted to Pandits who draw honouraria under this fund. This discouraging way, in which Arabic has been dealt with, constitutes a serious complaint of this community. The teaching of Arabic was not provided in the local College till very recently, though the demand for the creation of an Arabic Chair had been made as early as 12 years back, and when the chair was actually created, it was a lectureship of Rs. 100-5-125 and a Pandit appointed. This was done, when all along there were in the same college two Professors for Sanskrit with a grade of Rs. 550. One of these professors possessed very inferior general qualifications and on a protest against the appointment of a Pandit on the Arabic post being made, the department retained the Pandit incumbent, but changed the designation into lecturer for Persian and Urdu and saddled the the Muslim Professor of Persian with the teaching of Arabic. The Arabic Professor's post of Rs. 550 in the Jammu College was first reduced and then recreated with Rs. 100-10-150.

In appointing Arabic teachers in schools, the claims of really Arabic knowing scholars have been ignored, and only Matriculates appointed, regardless of the fact, if they have ever read Arabic or not. The pays of Arabic teachers' posts in secondary schools are inferior to those of the Sanskrit teachers.

The Education Department has been granting scholarships for Post Graduate learning and Teachers' Training. So far the claim of the Muslims has been consistently ignored, and only this year Hidayatullah, a second class double course of Mathematics Graduate, was not granted a scholarship for teacher's training. In this connection, it is significant that now that the number of Muslim Graduates is fast increasing, Post Graduate Scholarships have been stopped to be provided. Most of the

Muslim educated men owe their higher education to the pecuniary help they have been receiving from the Kashmiri Conference, Lahore, who have granted liberal scholarships.

A statement of the scholarships granted during the last 10 years by the Scholarship Selection Board and various departments so far as I have been able to collect the information, have been chiefly granted to non-Muslims. All these scholarships have been granted without any competitive examination having been held, and generally at the discretion of the Board or Department which has, all along, lacked Muslim representation. In one case only has a competition examination been held, and it is so remarkable, that I may mention it. Two Foreign scholarships were to be granted in the Sericulture and in the examination held, brilliant Muslim graduates did appear. The son of a high placed Government official, a Matriculate, was shown to have stood first in the competition, wherein graduates were shown to have come out second best when actually, he it added the matriculate non-Muslim had only a year or so before repeatedly failed to pass the Intermediate Examination.

In any case, the provision of each scholarship should have been widely advertised to give all a fair chance of putting in a claim. But there are instances Daulat Ram Sharma for Electrical Engineering, Mangotra for Accountancy, for example, were deputed without inviting applications and advertising the scholarships. A doubtful matric and a doubtful under-graduate both non-Muslims, were sent, one for Printing and one for Veterinary Training, when much better qualified Muslims were available. One or two brilliant examples of the award of scholarships and the neglect of qualified Muslims will not be out of place here.

Gulam Mohi-ud-Din, belonging as he did, to a most respectable family in Kashmir, whose members had, in the past, rendered loyal services to the Government, passed his F. Sc. (Medical group) with high marks. He was the first Muslim to be so qualified and, as half a dozen or more non-Muslims had previously been sent up for Medical training, he also applied to be deputed. There were Government scholarships vacant at the time, and fairness and no favour demanded that he should be given one scholarship. But the anti-Muslim mentality could not bear to see the Muslim candidate to succeed and the Hindu fail. Consequently every endeavour was made to find out a fault and deprive him and give this scholarship to the non-Muslim candidate. In such matters, when the object is to deprive Muslims, the whole path is easy, as the entire channel from the lowest rank to the highest is almost entirely Hindu. Ready pretext was found and accepted on all hands that the young man was medically unfit, and could not, therefore, be selected in as much as he was not stout and had not grown out a big belly. The young man argued that this was no criterion so far, either with Medical Department, Kashmir, or with the Lahore Medical College authorities. This was a cry in wilderness and specially disagreeable to the then Chief Medical Officer. The scholarship went, of course, to a non-Muslim candidate. M. Gulam Mohi-ud-Din having failed in securing Government scholarship went on the expenses of the All India Kashmiri Conference, Lahore, and easily secured admission in the Medical College, Lahore. The absence of fat and a protruding belly was considered no bar by the European management of the college to his admission. He next represented his case before Mr. A. D. Hakim, the then Home Minister, who after hearing the miserable story, was moved to pity and wired for the health certificate of Dr. Mohi-ud-Din from the Principal, Medical College, Lahore. The news of his admission was unpalatable to the medical authorities, one of whom wrote back to the Principal, Medical College, objecting to the admission of this State subject without his approval. The Principal gave him the very severe rebuke that such an objection deserved. The certificate demanded by the Minister, was immediately produced with the attestation of the Principal. The certificate, however, was mislaid with the result that the young man had to undergo a further expense of about

Rs. 50 and secure a fresh certificate. On a personal representation to His Highness by the father of this young man, His Highness was pleased to order that a special scholarship should be given to him in view of the services of his family. Here is the difference between the benign Ruler and his administration. But even this benevolent order of an impartial sovereign would not be given effect to, if possible, by the Hindu administration. Be it remembered that all this took 3 years for which period the scholarship was not given to this young man.

Another case is that of Mr. S. M. Abdullah. A medical scholarship for Assistant Surgeon's training fell vacant and this young man applied for the same. He was the only B. Sc. among all the applicants. His case was strongly recommended by the President Scholarship Board, Sir Albion Banerji. But the concerned authorities would never allow a Muslim candidates, who may even be an M. Sc. to succeed. Consequently the President was informed that there was a sufficient number of Assistant Surgeon's to meet the demands of the department and that fresh recruitment of Assistant Surgeon's should be stopped. This was only an objection created with the definite object of ousting a Muslim candidate, for, as it afterwards proved, that the scholarships were not stopped for the subsequent years.

In a department like this, the Muslim matriculates could have had no chance of being selected as Sub-Assistant Surgeons. During the last 10 years, the Muslim community has turned out about 200 matriculates of which many are still un-employed. And during this very period about 30 Sub-Assistant Surgeons were got trained on State expenses, and all, excepting 2, are non-Muslims. Muslims did apply and were in all respects quite suitable, but got no chance on one pretext or another. In 1917, a notice was issued from this department requiring Muslims to apply for Sub-Assistant Surgeon's training. About 8 suitably qualified Muslims applied of which number I was one. Only one Muslim was taken in, besides non-Muslims.

In the case of specialist's training for Tuberculosis none out of 4 or 5 Sub-Assistant Surgeon's could be selected because they were Muslims and a Pandit Sub-Assistant Surgeon, in no way superior to his Muslim colleagues, was deputed.

A glance at the list of compounders shows that 90 per cent. of them are entirely unqualified. Could not Muslim unqualified men be available? It is noteworthy that the requirement of this department for menials and compounders have never been advertised for and every appointment in these ranks, has consequently, been made through influence or other corrupt means. In the case of Khidmatgars and menials too, the meagre representation of the Muslims is conspicuous. Ordinarily the menial service is delegated to the Muslims, but here, as these posts are more or less a sinecure, care has been taken to take in as many non-Muslims as possible. What can be more surprising than that the patient public should be 90 per cent. Muslim and that the Khidmatgars, who are to serve the indoor patients, the compounders and vaccinators and the doctors should be more than 90 per cent. non-Muslims. Those who talk of qualifications as the criterion of admission in the Government service should deliberate upon these facts and figures and state what qualification except that they were Hindus, were possessed by these unqualified non-Muslim compounders and menials. This department has, during the last three or four years, sent a number of candidates for Foreign training to specialise in one branch or the other of the medical science and not one of them is a Muslim. Throughout Kashmir Province including Tibet, there are only 4 Muslim compounders.

To give one another example Mr. Gulam Ahmad Ashai, even then a double graduate, applied and was selected for the Provincial Forest Service course by Mr. B. O. Coventry, then Chief Conservator of Forests.

The concerned Minister, however, did not want the Muslim and insisted upon a competition examination. This was held much to the chagrin of the Minister, Mr. Ashai stood first or second throughout the Punjab. In spite of these facts, and the acceptance of the said gentleman by the Chief Conservator of Forests, on the ground of brilliant merit and excellent testimonials, the Minister deputed Shiv Saran, by name, who, at present, is a Divisional Officer. Akram Shah's case is another illustration of the treatment of this department towards Musalmans. A poor man, though efficient in all ways, is still labouring in the lower ranks of the service. Instances could be multiplied, but these are enough to establish that merit and efficiency count for little in the case of Musalmans in securing them their proper share in service.

A few words more on the subject and I shall leave the question of training and scholarships. In the case of the 2 Muslims (Hakim Ali and G. H. Khan) sent to Foreign training, both had, on their return to a wait arrangement of provision, when in the case of non-Muslims suitable posts were ear-marked long before their return, and in most cases, the pay granted, at the outset, was over Rs. 400, whereas for the Muslims one was started on Rs. 225 and the other was proposed to be given Rs. 100 or less. Mr. Hakim Ali, B. A., possesses the highest testimonials in Sericulture, and is a specialist in Reeling, and yet when a Deputy Directorship for Reeling fell vacant, on the eve of his return, it was given to a Hindu matric who has never had pretensions to know even little about Sericulture.

Services.

I have already lightly hinted at the fact that the Muslims have grievous complaints against the treatment they receive in the matter of appointment in services and subsequent promotions, as also the attitude of the non-Muslims who hold a monopoly in services towards them. When vacancies take place, they have never so far been advertised except when a propaganda against the Muslims has to be created, as was the case in the matter of appointments in the Srinagar Municipality and the Accountant General's office. Otherwise, posts are given and appointments made, and Muslim candidates come to know of vacancies only, after they have been filled. Again, it is believed, that merit for merit non-Muslims are preferred. *c. f.* (1) Mr. Ashai and A. N. Bakhshi (2) Ghulam Mohammed and R. C. Kak.

The case of Mr. Ashai, the first Muslim graduate in the State, if quoted in very brief terms, will serve as an example. A graduate and honours man of the first class, who had a most distinguished educational career, both in the school and college, without owing his success to any Government help. The same year Wazir Feroz Chand also passed his B. A. and without acquiring any additional qualifications since then, he is, at present, drawing about Rs. 600 and soon to go to a grade of Rs. 1,000 or more. Pandit Parmanand, M. A., is also his class fellow and now in Rs. 600 grade of employment. He went on Government stipend for the teacher's training to Lahore, on the clear understanding, as expressed by the then Resident in Kashmir, that he will, on his return, be posted in the inspecting line, while at Lahore, he was offered a University merit scholarship and Conference Scholarship for M. A. and, if possible, for LL. B. The Home Minister, however, refused to permit this and Mr. Ashai returned B. A., B. T. and was given a pay of Rs. 80, a rare encouragement granted to the first Muslim graduate. The Pandit B. T. who was an M. A. and returned with Mr. Ashai was given Rs. 150. He next passed the M. O. L. Examination and worked as a Professor of Persian in the local college most successfully for several years. But just then the post of Arabic Professor was refused to be sanctioned. Mr. Ashai who was now an M. A., M. O. L., B. T., was reverted to Rs. 80. He next applied for a post in the Forest Department with the result already quoted above. He was a candidate in the Judicial line and passed

the Law Examination with distinction but still received no encouragement. The non-Muslim M. A., B. T's. so far were all granted pays ranging between Rs. 150 and Rs. 250, but with Mr. Ashai who is one of the most qualified and highly educated State subject, the pay, could not rise higher than Rs. 80 till he was necessarily appointed as Assistant Inspector for Mohammedan education on Rs. 125 only because no Hindu could be given that post. Even there he was not allowed peace. An intrigue was started by the non-Muslims and as a result of that he was retired forcibly on Rs. 25 p. m., a young man of 35 or 36 years of age.

The treatment meted out to him stands out unique—I am not acquainted with all the details and this has been responsible for discouraging education among the Muslims to a large degree.

The case of H. Habibullah, B. A., of the Police Department is worth study. He has so many supersessions for no other reason than that he is a Muslim. Men of no qualifications are appointed as S. P's. and A. S. P. but he is still the Sub-Inspector that he was 10 or 12 years back, though he was promised in writing a much higher post on several occasions.

In the Customs Sanaullah, B. A. (2nd class), B. T., Assistant Inspector is ignored and Prithvi Nath, a B. A., 3rd class, appointed as Deputy Inspector, though the other had several years' service and the latter was only a fresh graduate. So is the case of Abdul Ahed Malik, B. A., of the same Department. Quazi Gulam-ud-Din, B. A., of the Education Department has a tale of injustices to relate about himself and other Muslim teachers. In fact, whether qualified or not, Muslims rarely get their due and this is causing severe unrest among them.

Lack of encouragement to the educated young men of this community and absence of impetus in the way of suitable provision, has been one of the potent causes of dissatisfaction and one of the reasons of the present backwardness in education. One of the most efficacious way to improve the education of a backward community is to encourage those among them who have taken lead in education by grant of easy terms of service and concessions in employment and inducements in recruitment to responsible posts. This is the line of policy followed in respect to the Dogra community and it has immensely succeeded. It is a sad truth that very little has been done to this effect in the case of the Muslims and the treatment, meted out to all their educated young men, has been the reverse of what it should have been.

To explain the insignificance of Muslim representation in gazetted cadre, I give below a census of gazetted appointments though not exhaustive in the departments of the State taken from the Civil List corrected upto 12th January 1931 :—

Name of Department.	Hindus.	Muslims.	REMARK
State Department	...	3	
Personal Department	...	7 2	
Military Secretary's Department	...	18	
Foreign and Political Secretariat	...	2 1	
Games, Fish, Visitors Bureau	...	2 1	
Police Department	...	35 5	

Name of Department	Hindus.	Muslims.	REMARKS.
Municipalities	...	4	1
Sanitary Department	...	61	13
Dharamarth Department	...	2	.....
Road Cess Fund	...	1	.....
Co-operative Department	...	3	3
Civil Veterinary Department	2 Superintendent Tem- porary. A Pandit under training in England.
Agriculture and Horticulture	...	4	.....
Census Department	...	2	.....
Public Works Department	...	18	.....
Irrigation Department	...	10	1
Electric Department	...	4	.....
Telegraph and Telephone	...	1	.....
Home Secretariat	...	3	.....
Medical and Jails	...	26	4
Education Department	...	52	7
Finance and Development Secretariat		1	.....
Accoants, Audit, Stamps and Treasuries		13	1
Customs and Excise Department	...	3	.....
Industries, Mining etc.	...	8	.....
Sericulture Department	...	8	1
Stationary and Press	...	5	.....
Forest Department	...	35	5
Judicial Department	...	37	8
Total	...	341	53

The above figures show that the Muslims are sharers of only about 15 per cent. of the total gazetted appointments in the State, and the ratio of pay is hardly so favourable.

An inspection of the non-gazetted establishment of all the departments will show a similar percentage of the Muslims and will further demonstrate that very few of the non-Muslims have any education at all.

The general impression is that the slogan of efficiency and qualification is only a pretext of depriving Muslims of the due share in services.

In the clerical staff, in almost every department of the State, there are non-Muslims who possess no academical qualification and are yet in receipt of good pays and considered fit. A large number of Muslims of better merit were and are still available but they lack patronage. From the Peerzada class alone—which should count a population of about 10,000 in the Kashmir Province—about a 1,000 youngmen are educated in Urdu and Persian. In the case of menial staff, too, where no educational qualifications are necessary, the non-muslim element predominates.

I give below statistics of the Departments of Forest, Accounts, Medical and Sericulture and some notes on each. These have been collected from newspapers, and if a statistical statement of this form, is prepared for the entire State, it will reveal facts that can not be known otherwise. The Muslims rightly claim an adequate share in services, partly because they wish to consume part of that wealth which they earn, and chiefly because they want to feel that sympathy extended to them in official contact which is their due.

Forest.

Post.	Pay.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Total.
Chief Conservator of Forests ...	2,150	1	.....	1
Conservator of Forests ...	1,100	3	.....	3
Assistant and Deputy Conservators	250 to 700	32	4	36
Forest Range Officers 1st Grade ...	200	1	3	4
" " " 2nd " ...	150	10	.....	10
" " " 3rd " ...	125	15	3	18
" " " 4th " ...	100	19	2	21
" " " 5th " ...	80	23	7	30
" " " 6th " ...	60	16	3	19
Foresters.				
1st Grade ...	50	9	1	10
2nd " ...	45	24	6	30
3rd " ...	40	42	8	50
4th " ...	35	42	8	50
5th " ...	25	51	16	67
Kuth Establishment.				
Kuth Officers ...	150	1	.....	1

Post.	Pay.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Total.
Kuth Supervisors ...	70	5	1	6
Rangers under-training ...	.....	4	1	5
Office Establishment.				
Chief Superintendent ...	150 to 250	1	.....	1
Superintendent ...	100 to 150	4	.....	4
Clerk ...	80 to 135	1	.....	1
Clerks ...	60 to 80	25	.....	25
Clerks ...	25 to 55	108	1	109
Range Clerks ...	20 to 35	74	1	75

The most remarkable fact that will strike the Hon'ble members of the Commission is the total absence of the Muslims in the clerical establishment. Out of total of 212 clerks drawing, if we take the maximum pay in all cases, Rs. 1,42,500 only Rs. 1,080 go annually to Muslims and the rest about Rs. 1,41,000 to non-Muslims. Be it remembered that the qualification of this clerical army is, barring a very few exception, no better than no qualifications. A small percentage may be Matrics.

On the other hand, there are instances where Muslims of Matriculation and higher qualifications were refused enlistment in this department, during the last 10 years, on the mere ground, that they did not belong to the community that had the monopoly in the services of the State. The slogan so often repeated by the State authorities to throw dust into the eyes of the public that Muslims were not advanced in English education, and are therefore, deprived from receiving their due share in Government services, could be conclusively disproved by a close examination of the state of affairs obtaining in the Forest Department during the last 20 years.

What I said of the clerical establishment applies exactly to the ranks of the service. Most of the Foresters and a large majority of Rangers and higher Gazetted Officers possess small, if any, academical qualifications, 2 out of 3 Conservators are not highly educated. They may possess experience of the technicalities of their work now, but so would have any Muslim, if placed in as favourable circumstances successively. In the case of menial service, in this department, represented by Forest guards who require no academical qualifications whatever, Muslim representation is yet smaller. The sufferings of the Zamindars, as the result of corruption in this department are widely known and need no detailed reference. In this connection I cannot do better than invite attention to several articles that appeared sometime back in a weekly English newspaper of Qadian the Sunrise regarding the workings of this and several other departments of the State. The case of one Ghulam Hasan of Baramulla has been quoted in full and serves as an example of how merit

is ignored when possessed by a Muslim and preference given to non-qualified non-Muslims.

Accounts Department.

Serial No.	Designation.	No.	Pay of Officers.	No. of Hindus.	No. of Muslims and pay.
1	Accountant General ...	1	Rs. 20,890	1	.....
2	Deputy Accountant General ...	1	15,000	1	.....
3	Assistant Accountant General	2	12,000	2	.....
4	Chief Superintendent ...	1	3,940	1	.....
5	Assistant Accounts Officers ...	1	3,642	1	.....
6	Assistant Accounts Officers (Customs Revenue) ...	3	12,600	2	1
7	Assistant Accounts Officers ...	2	7,200	2	.....
8	Superintendents ...	17	39,600	16	1=180
9	Examiners ...	14	19,980	13	1
10	Clerks ...	142	81,348	132	10=5,028
	Total ...	184	2,16,198	171	13

There are 2 more Superintendents and 12 more clerks engaged in connection with Forest Revenue audit. With these men also counted, the proportion of Muslims to Hindus comes to about 1 to 16 and in pay less. As to the academical qualifications, it is enough to say that most of them are unqualified. Some may be matrices and only a few are graduates. Among the Gazetted Staff (items 1 to 7) 4 are graduates, of whom 3 are non-State subjects and the rest have possibly studied upto matric. There are two graduates among the Superintendents, one among Examiners and 4 among Clerks. The rest are either unqualified or matrices. It is sad that, though Muslim matrices and under-graduates were always available, they should have been refused admission in this department. The conditions that have been obtaining in this department are a direct lie to notorious pretence that Muslims are not taken in service because they are not qualified. The vagaries of this department are so numerous that they will require a much greater space than can be afforded here.

Medical Department.

Serial No.	Post.	Monthly pay.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.
1	Chief Medical Officer ...	Rs. 1,070	1	.....
2	Assistant Surgeons ...	450	11	2

Serial No.	Post.	Monthly pay.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.
		Rs.		
3	Sub-Assistant Surgeons ...	175	44	5
4	Surgical Assistant ...	70	1	.....
5	Laboratory Assistant ...	40	1	.....
6	Senior Compounders ...	60	2	.....
7	Compounders ...	40	53	4
8	Female Compounders ...	40	2	.....
9	Nurse ...	190	1	.....
10	Female Khidmatgars ...	14	3	1
11	Khidmatgars ...	12	38	12
12	Cooks ...	12	29	9
	Total ...		186	33
	Office.			
13	Head Clerk ...	150	1	.....
14	Accountants ...	55	2	.....
15	Record-keeper ...	55	1	.....
16	Typist ...	55	1	.....
17	Receiver ...	55	1	.....
	Total ...		192	33
	T. B. Department.			
18	T. B. Specialist ...	650	1	.....
19	Sub-Assistant Surgeons ...	175	2	.....
20	Assistant Surgeons ...	450	1	.....
21	Compounders ...	40	3	.....
	Total ...		199	33

Roughly the pay, per month, if we take the maximum of each grade comes to the following distribution:—

Non-Muslims.

Rs. 20,000

Muslims.

Rs. 1,751

The compounders, Khidmatgars and cooks are all unqualified. The meagre representation of the Muslims in all grades is conspicuous. The patient public is 90 per cent. Muslim but the menials, compounders, the vaccinators and the doctors are over 90 per cent. non-Muslims. Those who talk of qualifications and merit and efficiency as criterions of admission in the Government service talk inconsiderately.

Sericulture.

The labour strike of this department has already been mentioned in the 1st part of the statement. The condition of the labour has not since then much improved and one of their main grievances *i. e.* the appointment of more Muslim officers has not yet been removed. In fact the No. of Muslim officers has decreased since then and this is probably due to the change of the Director. In the reorganised department the following establishment is maintained :—

Serial No.	Posts.	Hindu.	Muslim.	Qualifications.	Pay.
1	Director ...	1	.....	M. R. A. S.	800
2	2 Dy. Directors	2	.....	1 B. Sc., 1 read upto Entrance.	550
3	6 Senior Assistants	5	1 B. A., Europe returned.	2 Japan returned 3 possess no qualifications.	400
4	11 Junior Assistants	9	2—1 graduate, 1 possesses no qualifications.	9 possess no qualifications.	250
5	12 Inspectors...	8	4	.....	50
6	14 Sub-Inspectors.	12	2	.....	25
7	1 Head Clerk...	1	.....	.....	80
8	6 Senior Clerks	5	1	.....	15
9	6 Junior Clerks	6	.....	.....	30

I need not go into further details regarding the matter of services. It is a fact that the various classes of people have all grievances.

The traders have numerous grievances on their own score. They complain against Customs Laws, Municipal Regulations and levying of license fees and other taxes. They have been agitating against these hardships for several years past and I have seen a representation of the traders of Srinagar detailing some of their grievances. This was brought to me for correction and was addressed to the Minister concerned. About a year back their complaints against Octroi Rules and Municipal byelaws were brought to the notice of the President by us at the instance of the traders without any result. Last year some of them complained against the grant of monopoly of silk weaving to a certain influential non-Muslim non-State-subject. Their representation in this connection, I have been told, brought no favourable result. Besides, the prohibition of silk to local weavers constitutes another

grievance against sericulture, where the labour which is generally Muslim agitated for a long time for appointment of adequate number of Muslims. The Visitors' Bureau and the treatment that it meets out to traders, most of whom are very respectable, is extremely galling to the Muslims. The smallest officer, whether of Customs or of Municipal Committee, or of Visitors' Bureau can if he likes be very rude to respectable Muslim merchant without any remedy.

Labour.

The labour remains out of employment for the major portion of the year. The Government has hitherto taken no action to provide them all the year round so that they might have found themselves quite contented with their lot. The labour in Silk Factory has been growing under hardships since last decade and has been submitting their representations to the authorities but with no result. The local tax has been enhanced much against the wishes and expectations of the boatmen and this enhancement in taxes has caused much trouble to them.

Agriculture.

The agriculturist class is the greatest sufferer. The land revenue and *kah charai* taxes have been found by them too enormous. They say that they made a strong protest against the imposition of the latter but with no effect. The *khalsa* lands have been parcelled out among the non-agriculturists. At the auspicious occasion of Raj Tilak, His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur was pleased to grant concession to Zamindars by way of *shamlat*. According to this all the *khalsa* lands were to be given to Zamindars but though six years have passed this royal boon has not been operated upon by the Revenue officials for no apparent reason. The grant of trees on the same occasion has also remained in abeyance and in some places where the Zamindars availed themselves of the advantages thereof, they have been imposed heavy fines upon for one reason or the other. The Taccavi Loan sanctioned by His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur to flood sufferers in 1986 has been distributed chiefly amongst the Chakdars and the poor Zamindar in most cases has been bereft of any help to face starvation which he has been the victim of for last 4 years. Besides the corruption and exactions on the part of various departments having dealings with them are galling to all classes of people. All these things combined have caused general discontent among all classes of people in whom unemployment is rife. I regret I am not able to detail forth various grievances of the agriculturists and other classes such as Hanjis, as I have had not much chance of living in the Mufassil. But it is certain that they are discontented too.

The chief occasion for the ventilation of the trouble was afforded by the alleged interference in matters religious on the part of Government officials, who unfortunately showed a marked partiality to the Hindu community by conniving at their anti-Muslim propaganda. In this connection postponement of receiving and considering the Muslim demands has given rise to a feeling of suspicion regarding the good intentions of the Government. The sooner these demands are considered the better for the future contentment of the country. It would also be very much conducive to public peace, if full liberty in religious worship, observance and belief—liberty without let or hinderance were ensured in unequivocal terms and Muslim mosques and shrines under Government control released and their *wakaf* lands and property safeguarded from non-Muslim encroachment, official or non-official.

In the matter of dealing with the agriculturist class as also with the Muslims generally, no better advice could be available than that tendered on the occasion of restoring powers to His late Highness in 1905 by the Viceroy of India, who addressing His late Highness remarked, "You rule a State in which the majority of Your Subjects are of a

different religion from the ruling caste and in which they are deserving of just and liberal consideration. You rule a State in which the cultivating classes are poor and liable to sudden vicissitudes of fortune, so that there is frequently a call for leniency in treatment".

That our present ruler has always been inspired with the highest ideals of justice and generosity, nobody can deny who knows of the large number of very wholesome measures that His Highness has been pleased to sanction during the short period he has been on the throne. But every one in the know of things will also readily agree that his wise policy is rarely carried out by his servants in the spirit in which it was dictated. These very beneficial enactments are made, by interested people, the source of great vexation to the subjects and there being no contact between the people and the ruler, all these injustices and grinding oppression pass un-noticed. Every well-wisher of the State can only pray that Providence grant this country as wise, as liberal, as tolerant, as loving and as enlightened Ministers and State servants as the ruler himself. May they be inspired with the Sovereign's eminent example and administer the State loyally without making any distinctions of caste and creed.

**Introduction to the Statement given by Kh. Gulam Ahmad Ashai, M. A.,
M. O. L., B. T., before the State Subjects' Committee in the year 1921-1922.**

I must in the first place, as a true and loyal subject of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur acknowledge a deep debt of gratitude for the opportunity which has kindly been granted to some of us in laying before this Committee our views on one of the most important and vital problems that concerns all the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur. As a Muslim I must, at the same time, voice the sentiments of indebtedness (on behalf of the voiceless millions of my co-religionists, who constituting the vast majority of His Highness' subjects feel specially gratified at the gracious intentions of the Durbar that the Hereditary State Subjects should receive greater share in the administration of their own country. It is a rare good fortune and all of us can not but feel supremely thankful for this kind attention. To us it promises a bright future but no immediate good. We are afraid, and our past experiences bear us out, that the present exploitation of all offices by our fellow-countrymen, the Kashmiri Pandits, who, for personal interests, are more unsympathetic towards the Muslims, than the outsiders can be—will, if Government does not intervene, deprive the Muslims, for a very considerable time to come, from being practically benefitted by the declared policy of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur. The pretence that the Muslims of the State are not sufficiently educated has given and will give our Pandit brethren a potent means to monopolise the whole administration and keep down the Muslims to an eternal state of subjection and bondage. What with this pretext, which is nothing more than a mere shibbolith and what with the influence they command even now, when there are outsiders present in the State in sufficient numbers, the Muslims, though they equip themselves with proper education, and will find the doors of service and acquisition of property shut against their faces. God alone can help them, if the Pandits secure the entire monopoly which they aim at.

The general report that the Muslims are entirely uneducated is nothing but the propaganda of giving a dog a bad name, and hanging it, and should, therefore, be taken with a proper discount. As one who moves in almost all the spheres of Muslim society, I can safely say that the Muslims have even now a sufficient number of educated men who could replace the numerous Pandits holding various offices just at present without, in any way, impairing the efficiency of those posts. There are further many departments in the State that do not at all require English

education or academic qualification. All that is needed in such offices is a good knowledge of Urdu and Persian, which by the way, constitute, under the present law, the court languages in the State. Those who are well read in Urdu and Persian among us and their number in Kashmir Province alone is considerable could easily be appointed in Departments like Customs, Police, Municipalities, Grazing, Sericulture, Forests, Judicial, Settlement, Education, Revenue especially the vernacular offices of the Government, Wazirs, Tahsils and Law Courts. But the bitter experience that my community has had so far in the matter of obtaining services especially in the departments headed over or officered by the Kashmiri Pandits, make it very likely that, if outside importation is stopped wholesale, things may change for the worst and the Kashmiri Pandits treat their Muslim brethren more unfairly than heretofore. So long as there is a third element to count with and the more advanced Kashmiri Pandits deeply engaged in eliminating it from the land, the poor Muslims, though deprived of all share of administration enjoys comparative peace. Once the elimination is secured the Muslims will fare as good or as bad as his educated young men fare now, in the departments like the Srinagar Municipality. Who can say that he may not be eliminated next from the land, as he has already been from the office?

The number of Muslim young men educated in English I admit, is limited though not to the extent that the people interested would have us believe. These few, however, deserve equal if not preferential treatment in service and training. It is a sad truth that those of our young men who are fully qualified and equipped for responsible posts receive very inferior treatment partly because they can not bring forth the influence that their fellow countrymen do and chiefly because they are the victim of a mischievous propaganda carried on by some of these interested people, and also on account of the fact that the Pandits believe State service to be their sole heritage and regard every one else, be a Kashmiri Muslim or a Jammu Dogra or an outsider as an intruder who has no business to aspire to a share therein. These vested interests are even now a stumbling block in the way of all fully qualified Muslim young men. This equally applies to the acquisition of land and other benefits granted by the State and specific example will be quoted by me lower down. I cannot, however, pass on without giving expression to the conviction, which, of course, is based on facts, and that is deeply ingrained in the minds of my co-religionists that a Muslim, however qualified and how-so-ever efficient, will never get a suitable employment so long as his more lucky Pandit brother holds the influence that he does.

The facts being these, it is of paramount importance that all these and the allied circumstances should kindly be given due consideration in the recommendation of this committee. Simultaneously with the decision, whether so long as the Muslims are not given their proper share in the services etc., outside importation should be stopped, it is of vital importance that earnest endeavours should be made for the uplift of the Muslim community and for its early education by speedy and effective methods. The easiest way to improve their education is to encourage those among them who take the lead in education by grant of easy terms in service, concessions in the employment and other inducement in their recruitment to responsible posts. With the backward community like ours it is necessary to create interest in education and that can only be done by a liberal policy of enrolling Muslims in large numbers in the State service.

The outsiders are not responsible for the present educational and, consequently, moral and material backwardness of the vast majority of His Highness' subjects in Kashmir to the same extent that our fellow countrymen are. The present ignorance of the Kashmiri Muslims is not only a source of political gain to their Pandit brethren, but is also a rich field wherein grow weeds of religious strife, dissensions, extravagance, quarrelsomeness and proneness to litigation which all bear fruit for the

Kashmiri Pandits, in as much as these help to bring their helpless countrymen into their clutches and fill their pockets with gold. This surely does not reflect discredit on the community of Kashmiri Pandits, for, any other community placed in exactly similar circumstances would do exactly the same thing, because this very course of action would be dictated by self interest.

EXHIBIT No. 103.

Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Colonel Ghulam Ali Shah, Pensioner (Witness No. 88), dated 8th Bhadon 1988.

With reference to your letter No. 301, dated 21st September 1931, I beg to state as follows:—

(1) In my humble opinion the parties should be stopped from delivering objectionable speeches likely to disturb the public peace.

(2) The publication of articles calculated to excite the masses should be prevented.

(3) An Arbitration Board consisting of influential and able persons of both the communities should be constituted to consider the methods which should be adopted in order to restore mutual confidence and good will. The authorities should also take into consideration the measures suggested by the Board.

EXHIBIT No. 104.

Written Statement of Abdul Aziz (Witness No. 89).

I beg to state that I have got some informations about the present agitation which I respectfully beg to state as below:—

The present agitation originated when a representation was submitted to the Viceroy before exilement of Kh. Saad-ud-Din Shahl. One day before exilement of Kh. Saad-ud-Din Shahl, Maulvi Ama Shah Kalan, M. Ama Shah Khured, Said Shah Jalali, M. Sharif Din, Kh. Hasan Shah Babdi, Kh. Hasain Shah Naqashbandi, Kh. Noor Shah Naqashbandi, Kh. Aziz Mir and others whose names I do not remember collected at Kh. Salam Shah's house which is located at Khanyar near Saad-ud-Din Shahl's residence. There they talked about several things. The main point of discussion was that the Mohammedans are looked down and are not given good posts. They are entangled under the tyranical hands of Hindus. We will try to get our demands. We will try to get our demands by sending representations and telegrams to the Viceroy. They told to late Kh. Aziz Mir Zaildar to join with and help them. I and Aziz Mir told them that we are Zamindars and subjects of His Highness, we have no concern with employments, nor there is any person among us who is worthy of getting such employment. Especially His Highness has granted us rights and we have got various easements and hope to get more in future, therefore we cannot join with you in these things and I do not know what aim you have got in this. We then left for our village. When these secrets came and Kh. Saad-ud-Din Shahl was exiled and other persons we begged for pardon were pardoned, but the spirit of agitation remained in the hearts of people.

This year through prayers of Hindus and Mohammedans Almighty granted a Prince to His Highness and on whose birth both Hindus and Mohammedans highly rejoiced. When the telegram of His Highness'

arrival reached Srinagar the notables of Hindus and Mohammedans collected at Mirza Mustafa's house, where they were discussing to give joint party to His Highness. Kh. Noor Shah took all to hold such meeting at Mirza Sahib's place. He therefore tried through Pt. Tara Chand Trisal not to hold such other meeting at Mirza Sahib's house. The following persons were present in this meeting:—M. Gulam Mustafa, Pt. Balkak Dhar, Pt. Nand Lal Mattoo, Pt. Raghu Nath Matoo, Kh. Mahidin Kaysa, Kh. Gulam Mahidin Shawl, M. Assad Ullah, Pt. Chandar Joo, Aga Sher Ali, Kh. Noor Shah, H. Mohammed Ali, Pt. Amar Nath Kak, Pt. Tara Chand Trisal, Saad-ud-Din Shawl and others. The members of this gathering said that as Almighty has granted Heir-Apparant to His Highness we must jointly show our happiness on this auspicious occasion. We have not to present any demands but to express our happiness. It was therefore settled to hold another general meeting at K. S. Mirza Gulam Mustafa's house. As there was not sufficient accommodation for two or three hundred people at Gulam Mustafa's house, it was consequently settled that next meeting should be held at Pt. Bal Kak's house. A meeting was therefore held at Bal Kak's house where notables of Hindus and Mohammedans assembled and it was resolved that Hindus and Mohammedans would give joint party to His Highness. We have not to present our demands but to express our happiness. Kh. Noor Shah, Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Hassain Shah Jalali, Gulam Ahmad Ashai took it ill and when the meeting dispersed they discussed and said among themselves that why should we give joint party with Hindus. We have to present our demands to His Highness. Hindus will stand in way of our presenting our demands. We therefore should arrange to give separate party and should present our demands to His Highness. Mohammedans of Jammu should be joined because Jammu is totally in the possession of Dogras and not a single Mohammedan is allowed to be taken in service there. We should take full part in their cause so that we may be able to represent seventy-five per cent. demand of service in which we hope to succeed. Consequently Kh. Noor Shah, Saad-ud-Din Skawl, Peer Makbul Shah, Ghulam Nabi, employee of Shali Store, Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, M. Shab-ud-Din, M. Yusuf Shah, M. Abdula Vakil, M. Abdulla of Sovra, Qazi Mustafa Shah Kothidar, Gafar Basu Kothidar, Gafar Handu, Ama Mir, Zaildar Pampore, Ama Malik Pulvama, Akhbardar Drabagam, Mukhtaton Takin and others assembled the next day in Khanayar Ziarat. Mirza Mustafa and Assad Ullah Vakil were not present that day although letters were written to them. In this meeting it was settled to join party to His Highness on behalf of Mohammedans and it was said that this is the proper occasion of presenting demands. Another meeting was held next day as all notables were not present in previous meeting. Other notables were called and letters sent to them under signature of Ghulam Mohammed Ashai. Besides persons mentioned above many people assembled at Ziarat, M. Ghulam Mustafa also attended. He was selected President but he declined. Saad-ud-Din Shawl was then hinted at, but he also refused. Consequently M. Abdulla of Sovra was selected President and collections of contribution for party was suggested. Some gentlemen gave lectures also saying that we have to present our demands to His Highness specially for employment, religious freedom (several questions of Islam were discussed which is not advisable to pen down here). sale and purchase of lands etc., etc., are important demands. How long should we remain in darkness, "Oh Mohammedans get awakened, demand your rights, and direct your energies towards education. We are at present suppressed under tyrannical hands of Hindus, because all employees of Jammu and Kashmir State are Hindu Dogras. Be courageous and leave weakness and timidity. Face Kashmiri Pandits first because they are weak, we can then step towards Hindus of Jammu and shall succeed without fail." This agitation continued until His Highness arrived in Kashmir and it came to know that His Highness has refused party of both sects. When on auspicious occasion of Prince's birth His Highness granted Jagirs and Pattas to some persons in the Royal Durbar held at Shergarhi

and also remitted revenue *baqaya* the Musalmans of Srinagar got displeased and began to criticise this action. They said that His Highness granted Jagirs on his coronation and birth of Prince to his Dogra brothers but nothing was given to us poor people or to Mujaviran Ziarats or for buildings of any Ziarat. What happiness we have got in this. If however Jagir has been granted to Aga Sayed Hussain it was because of his submitting a Razina on behalf of public with fictitious thumb marks to Government of India. This added to the agitation of people, and people began to mistrust. The above mentioned persons went on holding confidential meetings. In the meanwhile this agitation had its effect in Jammu also. People of this place went to Jammu to give their consultations. One day M. Yusaf Shah, M. Abdulla, Shab-ud-Din went to Kh. Salam Shah and told him that as you were a Mohammedan why did you dismantle a mosque in Reasi. He replied that he was in service and coming under influence of Government he has done this action for which he is repenting now, and therefore does not dare to go back to Reasi because Mohammedans and Hindus are against him, otherwise he also is with Mohammedans. He also said that Mr. Wakefield, Mr. Effendi, Nawab Khusru Jung, and Abdul Majid Khan are our helpers. If you make up your party I will also be with you. In the meanwhile the rumour of *tauhin* of Qauran Shariff and dismantling of mosque which added to the agitation, otherwise it was not known to the people of this place what the demands meant nor they had any gain in it. Only few agitators spread this agitation in public for securing service and collecting subscriptions.

When agitation spread more Mr. Wakefield called one day M. Abdulla, Mohammed Abdulla, M. Yusaf Shah to himself. When these people return they said that Mr. Wakefield has promised that if you desire to get your demands have union and be ready. I will get your demands granted by His Highness and if His Highness does not grant them I will get them for you from the Viceroy. Mohammed Abdulla said that Mr. Wakefield has told him that if you want to become leaders resign your service. He however resigned, and began to give lectures openly and began to spread among people that Quran Sharif was disrespected. He called Abdul Qadeer from Nasim Bagh to join in giving lectures, who gave exciting lectures for which he was arrested. On hearing this Kh. Salam Shah, Kh. Noor Shah, Mohammed Abdulla, M. Yusaf Shah jointly went to Mr. Wakefield and asked him what should be done now. He said "have union and don't be afraid". Through this instigation people began to collect in Court in connection with Abdul Qadeer's case and began to make horrible noise and cried loud shouts. Afterwards when the hearing of the case was arranged at Jail Mohammed Abdulla, Kh. Salam Shah and Kh. Noor Shah again went to Mr. Wakefield who told them that people should go in large numbers to Jail and they should ask that they may also be put in Jail. On this hope people collected in large number near Jail on the day of event. And when they were not admitted into the Jail they began to throw stones and also attacked. People dispersed when bullets were fired from Jail, and began to collect in Juma Masjid. From there Mohammed Abdulla went with people to bring corpses from the Jail which they brought on Policemen's *charpoys* to the Juma Masjid. Two corpses were taken to Maharajganj on Dr. Abdul Wahid's shop and many people were with these two corpses. There it is not known why Bhagat Karam Chand and Bhagat Chuni Lal were beating a Mohammedan servant with a Hatab. The people who were with the corpses began to cry and began to abuse Karam Chand, B. Karam Chand also began to give them abuses and also attacked people. On this the Mohammedans began to loot. I then heard that from Juma Masjid Mohammed Abdulla went on a bicycle to Sovra and instigated people to plunder Pandits of Vicharnag and returned himself.

Next Mohammed Abdulla was arrested. He hinted towards people at the time of his arrest by lifting up his hands and showed them thirteen fingers. From which his comrades thought that thirteen days *hartal* was to be observed. Regarding burial of corpses Kh. Noor Shah told not to make noise, Mr. Wakefield has ordered that all these corpses should be buried in the Ziarat Naqashbandi Sahib, His Highness will give cost of the land in which these will be buried. It will be better for you to bury these corpses in one place and should erect a platform there. The same was, however, done. After this event Military guard was placed at several places in the city. Kh. Noor Shah and Kh. Salam Shah went to Mr. Wakefield and Khusru Jung and told them that Military men are Hindus. They have plundered Mohammedans. Mr. Wakefield and Khusru Jung then went in a car and moved in the streets of city and suggested half the number Mohammedan Sepoys to be kept in city.

Fourth day after this event on the request of M. Yusaf Shah and Kh. Noor Shah, Kh. Salam Shah went to Mr. Wakefield at evening time. From there he went to Mr. Abdul Majid and brought him to his house and through Mukhtar Shah, petition-writer, called for Kh. Noor Shah, M. Yusaf Shah, M. Abdulla Wakil and Shab-ud-Din and himself went to Mr. Wakefield. After 12 in the night he came back to his house with Mr. Wakefield, Mr. Khusru Jung and Mr. Effandi. Kh. Noor Shah etc. who were called had already come and were with Mr. Abdul Majid. Then they were talking something among themselves. When they came down Mr. Wakefield etc. went away, others said in Kashmiri language. "Mr. Wakefield before leaving gave 15 hundred rupees to Mr. Yusaf Shah for expenses of telegrams etc. because Maulvi Sahib requested that people are very poor. Mr. Wakefield also said that I have brought this to the notice of Viceroy, rest assured result will come out soon and at the burial place of these corpses women should collect and cry. Let children also make cry in the city". However the same was done. He also said that Mohammed Abdulla etc. who are in fort, I shall get them released by His Highness. Try to withhold payment of revenue through people of city and instigate people to have civil disobedience. Afterwards when Mohammed Abdulla and others were released they again began to deliver lectures, and sent his men to spread civil disobedience, in Mufassils. At the instigation of Khankashan three men went to Charar-i-Sharif. They went to Haji Lassa Baba and Kabir Baba because they were related to them. On 14th August they got all shops closed and delivered lectures that His Highness will grant them of Khun Baha (خون بھا) of Shahids. This case is under enquiry in Tehsil. From there they went to Shopian and instigated people there. They explained to them that Duki is being won by every leaf and King by Yaka. Have courage we shall gain success. Ghulam Mohammed Ashai has got his relatives in Rangar village, Badgam Tehsil. He had been to them and spread civil disobedience movement in this Illaqa through Ghulam Mohammed Nambardar of Zuhama, Sona Mir Zaildar, Ahmad Dar, Rangar and Hashim Baba brother of Kabir Baba etc. This has come to the notice of Tehsildar Badgam. In Srinagar Mohammed Abdulla is still delivering lectures street after street which adds to the agitation. I, being a loyal subject of His Highness, am reporting these facts because I have heard and seen with my own eyes. Owing to danger of my life I could not express these things so far. Now that many persons who have got their statements recorded have not been molested by public I venture to bring this reality to light because I am loyal subject of His Highness.

EXHIBIT No. 105.

Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Major General Sardar Samundar Khan Sahib (Witness No. 90).

With reference to your letter No. 300, dated 21st August 1931, I beg to state that the following steps should be taken to restore peace and harmony of the country :—

1. An arbitration board consisting of influential and able persons of both the communities should be constituted to consider the methods which should be adopted in order to restore mutual confidence and good will. The authorities should also take into consideration the measures suggested by the board.

2. The parties should be stopped from delivering objectionable speeches for a reasonable time and steps should be taken to prevent the publication of the objectionable articles in the newspapers.

3. The grievances of the educated Muslims with regard to holding a disproportionate share in the services may be remedied.

EXHIBIT No. 106.

Written Statement of Thakur Kartar Singh Ji, Deputy Revenue Minister (Witness No. 91).

There are three significant facts about the Muslim agitation which should be carefully noted in order to arrive at correct appreciation of the situation. In the first place it should be kept in view that although certain Muslims outside the State started a crusade against His Highness at the very commencement of his reign with a view to facilitate chances of establishing Muslim Raj, yet everything was quiet within the State when His Highness left for Europe in 1930 and that the agitation in its present virulent form began soon there-after, and that its origin in the State was sudden as its growth was rapid. Secondly it should be noted that the agitation is not based on any genuine grievance with the possible exception of Muslim representation in Government services. I count many Muslim gentlemen among my honoured friends and acquaintances and have engaged in frank and friendly talk with them on the subject on several occasions. But the substance of this conversation always ultimately came round to the question of services only. They have never been able to tell me of any genuine grievance which the Muslim community might be said to be labouring under in this State and to which the other communities are not at the same time equally subject. Now the question of Muslim representation in public services cannot by itself and alone explain the facts of the situation, its origin, growth and virulence of attack. It is not a question which could appeal to the imagination of the illiterate masses who are traditionally loyal to the ruler. Thirdly that there is nothing short of an irony of fate that this agitation should have been started and carried on with such bitterness against a ruler and his administration who has devised and carried through during the 5 or 6 years of his reign, sometimes in the teeth of strong opposition, unprecedented measures calculated to improve the condition of Muslim masses without any pressing demand or strong agitation on their part—measures some of which are far in advance of progressive British India and unknown in other Muslim States. Impartial observers will agree that Muslim representation has of late also improved in all branches of Government service and is improving as the result of special efforts which have been and are being made by His Highness' Government in this direction. I am per-

fectly sure that His Highness' Government can safely challenge comparison as regards measures including representation in Government services with any other Indian administration similarly circumstanced.

2. We have to fit in these palpable facts in the picture to find out the correct explanation or "true inwardness" of the situation. It is my impression that the true explanation will be found in the fact that before His Highness' departure for Europe in 1930 there was no close association between the external and internal forces of Muslim agitation and that these forces were some how allowed after his departure to coalesce into a formidable alliance. The All-India Kashmiri Muslim Conference of Lahore is not a new body and has been carrying on agitation outside the State for several years but the tone of its resolutions and the trend of the speeches made in support thereof was never so violent as at the last session which was held during His Highness' absence in Europe. These resolutions faithfully reproduced those previously passed by the Youngmen Muslim Association of Jammu, a fact which was officially noticed and commented upon by Mr. Wakefield, then Minister-in-Charge of the Police Department. About the same time violent articles began to appear in Muslim papers like the *Inqilab* containing virulent attacks on His Highness' Government and the officers of his Government based on wrong information which must have been supplied by some persons connected with the Government. The alliances between the internal and external agitators was thus a *fait accompli* by this time.

3. Now this alliance, explains a good deal connected with the subsequent development of this movement but it is in itself a mystery which in turn calls for some explanation. His Highness' Government has always allowed the fullest freedom to his subjects to seek redress constitutionally through representation of legitimate grievances, if any, but at the same time it has always put down with a firm hand any tendency on the part of outside agitators to interfere in the domestic affairs of this State as well as any inclination on the part of the local agitators to establish collaboration with or seek help from the outside agencies. This has in fact been the basic principle of Government policy on this subject. And it is this traditional policy which has so far succeeded in keeping apart the external and internal forces of agitation. Left to themselves the local agitators would never have dared to ally themselves openly with the outside agitators if they felt sure that this traditional policy of Government would be as firmly carried out in His Highness' absence as it was being enforced during his presence in the State as the recent instance of the dissolution of the Dogra Sabha must have yet been fresh in their memory. This open alliance which was a direct challenge to this policy is inexplicable except on the hypothesis that disloyalty within the Government camp must have connived at and permitted its consummation. The disloyal officials were in touch with the outside agitators and, being in touch with the outside agitators and, being in Government service, had influence with the local workers. They were, therefore, eminently suited to act as liaison officers between the allied forces and they worked as such. They could not have coined out their design except in the absence of His Highness and even then not without being assured of protection and freedom from molestation which was in fact accorded to them in ample measure. S. Budh Singh and Vishva Nath Kerni, engaged in not very seriously objectionable activities were confined in the Bahu fort without hesitation but the Muslim agitators and their collaborators the disloyal officials were not even touched. There would have been no trouble had they been arrested or dealt with drastically in the earlier stages of this movement and the whole mischief would have been nipped in the bud. But the manner in which this alliance was allowed to be strengthened and the agitation to grow is highly significant. It seemed as if the hand which should have struck boldly and strongly remained arrested in the air and continued strongly beckoning encouragement to those whom it should have

chastised. This masterly in action in the earlier stages of the movement has to answer for much, that happened thereafter. Personally I do not believe in the theory of divided counsels hampering action vetoed by Government during the absence of His Highness if the constituted authority advised its adoption.

4. It is not pretended that there was a single motive actuating these diverse elements for politics like love make strange bed-fellows. There were some who had visions of a Muslim Kingdom in the North-West of India and others who had Imperialistic designs. Love of power and frustrated ambition have also played their part. Nor need we ignore the disappointment caused to a few who aspired to high Government posts which they failed to secure. The discontent of some who were dismissed, removed or retired from Government service for reasons unconnected with this movement is also a factor of some importance. But even this formidable combination could not have succeeded without a common platform, which it was difficult to improvise in the absence of a genuine communal grievance likely to capture the popular imagination. The movement had therefore to be fed upon lies and gross misrepresentations. Trivial incidents were magnified and distorted into grievances and false charges fabricated. The cry of Islam in danger was cleverly raised by those who understood the crowd mentality and mass psychology.

5. The above conclusions including the complicity of Government officials in this agitation are based on a careful observation of the march of events and the line of development followed by this movement. They are amply corroborated by the information supplied to me by Muslim friends, officials and others. As this information was supplied in confidence I do not include it in this public statement. But I enclose a separate confidential note for the perusal of the Honourable Members of the Committee of Enquiry and I am prepared to answer further questions relating to it in camera if names are to be mentioned in the course of oral evidence. But for the imperative duty to place all facts before the Committee for the ascertainment of truth at this critical juncture, I should not have disclosed these facts and names which were communicated to me in the confidence of private conversation. But as my sole object, is to assist the Committee in the discovery of truth I place this information at their disposal.

6. This information will show what part certain officials have played in this movement who were the chief instigators of this agitation and how a conspiracy was organized, to implicate innocent Hindu officials as revolutionaries to discredit and lower them in the eyes of the ruler and public.

7. I think I have said enough to show that no adequate measures were adopted to check this agitation in the initial stages. It remains only to add that the Government was practically kept in the dark as to the trend of events as no regular reports were submitted in spite of orders to this effect. A secret abstract of intelligence used at one time, to be submitted to Government but as the information given therein was not promptly supplied and properly selected His Highness was pleased to command that the secret abstract should be replaced by a weekly report on the political situation to be submitted in his own hand writing by the Political Minister. (*Vide* Minister-in-Waiting's endorsement No. 138/C.C., dated 19th May 1929 and No. 1252, dated 5th February 1930). This order was passed before I was appointed State Secretary and during all these years was never complied with in spite of several reminders (3 or 4).

8. I have no personal knowledge of the subsequent events which must have been deposed to by other witnesses before the Committee. I visited Maharaj Ranbirganj immediately after the occurrence on the 13th July last and can describe the conditions I saw if required to do so by the Committee.

9. I have been invited to suggest measures which should be adopted to restore amicable relations and normal conditions. The foregoing analysis will show that in my opinion the whole trouble is attributable to want of timely action on the part of executive authorities. Some have failed for incompetence, some tacitly or actively sympathised with the movement and some lacked confidence that strong action on their part would have the support of higher authorities. The system which allows subordinate officers to look to their higher officers for guidance in matters which should be dealt with promptly on their own responsibility is defective and should be ended. It destroys initiative and all sense of responsibility. The confidence of subordinate officers should be restored and they should be assured that all bonafide acts of theirs will have the support of Government. The tendency to condone open breaches of law is also dangerous and should be deprecated. Magistrates who are purely judicial officers consider their main duty to merely decide cases, when these are brought to their courts and forget that as Magistrates it is their duty also to maintain law and order and that they are empowered to take all necessary action to maintain peace in their Illaqa without formal complaint.

10. Besides the above I would suggest the following measures:—

(a) The Government should not act only against the dupes and tools but should take action also against the real instigators of agitation.

(b) The Government should reward liberally conspicuous acts of loyalty and devotion.

(c) All disloyal Government servants whatever their position may be should be immediately replaced and their subordinates who took part in this movement should be drastically dealt with. To avoid misunderstanding I would further suggest that if it becomes necessary to remove a Muslim officer on this ground he should so far as possible be replaced by a suitable loyal Muslim officer.

(d) It should be brought home to the communities as a whole that disturbances do not pay. Personally I would like that whenever there is any disturbance in any locality punitive Police should be established to maintain law and order.

(e) In times of emergencies the value of correct and timely information should be realised and the C. I. D. should be strengthened and organized to serve as an efficient unit of administration. The Criminal Investigation Branch should be constituted side by side with the Criminal Intelligence Branch.

(f) The Ministers of Government and Heads of Departments should become more accessible to people.

(g) I understand that a movement of social and economic boycott has been set on foot. A proclamation should be issued advising people to desist from this suicidal policy. In my opinion conciliation boards should be established to bring about concord among the people.

(h) Some satisfactory solution of the communal question so far as it affects the services should be found. For this purpose a Round Table Conference of the various communities is suggested. Whatever scheme is devised for this purpose it must keep the following safeguards in view:—

(i) Protection of life, property and honour and impartial dispensation of justice to all communities should be ensured.

(ii) Persons with marked communal bias belonging to any community should not be recruited to services.

- (iii) No disloyalty or divided allegiance in the Government camp should be tolerated.
- (iv) There should be no lowering of the standard of efficiency.
- (v) The restrictions on the employment of non-State subjects should not be relaxed in the case of any community. Relaxation if made should be general.
- (vi) Due weight should be given to family service, character and education and other relevant factors in making recruitment.
- (vii) In giving effect to any policy which might be decided upon the necessity of unmerited supersession should be avoided.
- (viii) Comparatively young and inexperienced persons should not be advanced to responsible and high posts on communal considerations. Recruitment should begin at the bottom and advance should be gradual.
- (ix) Lastly I would suggest that expenditure on services should be curtailed. The administration has become top heavy and out of touch with the popular mind.

EXHIBIT No. 108.

**Written Statement of Agha Syed Hussain, retired Home and Judicial Minister
(Witness No. 92).**

The communal dissention in Kashmir has not originated in the present reign but existed long before that, as will appear from some incidents that took place during the past reign. For instance, the fracas of Sericulture labourers, that about a Chabootra at Anantnag, and that about Mahakali and Shah-i-Hamdan.

2. Muslims lagged behind in education while Pandits acquired it with great diligence and application. State service jobs consequently went to Pandits who were prepared and efficient to be employed on them. Muslims gradually developed jealousy seeing that they were the ruled while Pandits were the rulers. Statements to this effect were made before the State Subject Definition Committee by some Muslims like Ghulam Ahmad Ashai. Whenever this murmuring on the part of Muslims was heard or overheard by me in any capacity of my service, I always advised them that the blame lay at their own door, and it was of no avail to them now to envy the position acquired by Pandits but they should obtain education and make themselves fit for service.

3. When His Highness ascended to the *Gaddi*, a deputation was elected by the citizens of Srinagar to convey their heartfelt condolence on the sad demise of His late Highness and also their loyal felicitations to His Highness on his accession to *Gaddi*. The deputation represented all communities, *viz*: Pandits, Sunni Muslims, Shia Muslims and Sikhs. When the deputation was received by His Highness in audience, and the address was presented, what His Highness liked most of all and admired above all, was the united move of all communities. In reply His Highness laid great stress upon the necessity of maintenance of unity and advised the deputation to approach His Highness always unanimously and to maintain good relations of citizenship among themselves.

In the first public utterance His Highness declared openly that his religion was justice, and justified his words by his deeds calculated to improve the condition of Muslims in general. These measures achieved

much in a brief period of five years and are too numerous to be re-iterated *e. g.* :—

1. Enactment of the Agriculturists' Relief Regulation ;
 2. Extension in the term of Land Settlement from 20 to 40 years ;
 3. Introduction of Compulsory Primary Education and expansion of education in all branches ;
 4. Increase in the amount of special scholarships for Muslims ;
 5. Prohibition of '*Begar*' ;
 6. Extension of the Land Alienation Regulation to the whole of Jammu Province as a permanent measure ;
 7. Write-off of "Tasfiya Baqaya" and Revenue arrears ;
 8. Increase in the price paid to Zamindars for silk cocoons ;
 9. Expansion and development of the co-operative movement including Co-operative Banks ;
 10. Holding of Industrial Exhibitions ;
- and
11. Extension of medical relief to outlying places.

It was evident that His Highness took up the reins with a firm determination not only to do even justice among all communities and classes of his subjects but also to improve the condition of Muslims in particular.

4. His Highness' personal exertions to fight the floods to save his subjects and his provision of heavy expenses for saving the country, made a great impression upon the minds of Muslims in Kashmir who were eye-witnesses to His Highness' taking part even in manual labours. Muslims became content and satisfied by the said beneficial measures of His Highness. Their appreciation and admiration of these measures will be seen by looking back at various proceedings of mass meetings of Anjumans, of special meetings in Hazratbal, Khankahs, Imambara and other shrines held from time to time. While Kashmir Muslims were thus peaceful and contented, their co-religionists in the Punjab began to work on different lines. Communal dissention is at its climax in the Punjab and the Punjab press both Hindu and Muslim are responsible for the present ill-feeling in Kashmir. The bitter controversy between the two presses in the Punjab could not fail to impress the minds of Kashmiris.

5. His Highness' Government framed a set of rules for recruitment in Civil Service and appointed a Recruitment Board. Soon after a batch of Muslim graduates returned from plains having obtained degrees in law and science, etc. When they arrived they were perturbed to see the new rules as they thought that the rules which provided competitive examinations and fixed age limits were in reality intended to place obstacles in their way. Some of them saw me too and I tried to explain to them that the real object of these rules was to secure efficiency in service and these rules were not really harmful to them as one-third of the posts was to be filled up by nomination which might help them if they could not come out successful at competitive examinations. My words were not taken in good faith and did not satisfy them. They began to express their anger against Mr. Wattal as author of these rules and against me for not having had the courage to oppose them as a Muslim Minister. They continued their agitation. S. M. Abdulla seemed specially disappointed that though possessing high academical qualifications was rejected on account of age disability. Another grievance of

his according to his statement was that he had previously applied for scholarship for training abroad but was rejected in favour of a less qualified Hindu. Of this I have no knowledge. They then approached the Cabinet with representation when His Highness was in Europe. I think that the Cabinet was considering their representation but they believed that no attention was paid to it. In fact I do not know the result of that representation. I hope that I shall not be divulging an official secret when I say that to encourage the Muslim recruitment in State service was already under the contemplation of His Highness before he left for Europe to attend the Round Table Conference.

To relieve the paucity of Muslims in Judicial Department, His Highness spontaneously ordered four Muslim Law graduates to be appointed Munsiffs direct. Two graduates were sent to Europe for high training in Law on State expenses.

6. On the auspicious birth of Heir-Apparent and on the safe return of Their Highnesses from Europe the Muslims prayed in mosques, Khan-kahs, shrines and Imambaras and invoked Heavens blessings for Their Highnesses and the Prince and gave loud expressions to their loyal sentiments. While peace and goodwill thus prevailed all round, two unfortunate incidents took place at Jammu which however brought together and into prominence the present batch of the representatives and also prepared a way for them, as the news of these incidents wounded the religious feelings of Kashmir Muslims who received the news mostly through rumours and rumours passing from mouth to mouth gain something every-where.

7. Soon after a mysterious murder of a Hindu girl at Kane Kadal took place, which aggravated the dissension. The local Hindus arranged a procession which, though it was not allowed by authorities to have its own way, gave the Muslims to understand that it was meant to accuse them as a community of the offence. Some Hindu papers forgetting that the matter was still under Government investigation made prejudicial comments against Muslims. Exciting lectures that continued in mosques and Dharam-Salas could not fail to poison the minds of both communities. Next the case of Abdul Qadeer added fuel to the fire in the minds of the ignorant and fanatic mob. The unfortunate and deplorable happenings at Jail and other places appear to me to be a sudden outburst of mob-fury whose hearts were already full.

8. Regarding measures to bring about peace the following suggestions may be considered :—

(1) All public meetings and preachings on the part of both communities should be stopped until efforts are made to bring about a wholesome atmosphere for a reconciliation between them ; such preachings made under the guise of religion are well calculated to make immediate impressions on the ignorant public minds and inflame communal hatred and also present a good opportunity for designing people to disseminate seditious ideas.

(2) Those persons of both communities against whom there be reasonable suspicion that their activities are directed against public peace should be bound down to keep peace.

(3) Those persons that were caught during confusion on roads by Military soldiers should be released, unless any offence is substantiated against any of them.

(4) A Reconciliation Committee should be convened, consisting of reasonable, respectable and moderate members of both communities to try and bring about reconciliation,

(5) The dependants of those that died as a result of firing should be given some monetary relief by the State.

(6) The complaint of Muslims for non-employment in State service should be remedied as far as practicable.

(7) The Muslim demands when submitted through peace-loving true leaders should be favourably considered by His Highness' Ministers and such of them as are found reasonable should be recommended for His Highness' consideration.

(8) Before concluding I would like to add that the real bone of contention is State service and I would advise Muslims not to envy Pandits but to try to raise themselves to the same level of efficiency. At the same time I would advise Pandits not to grudge the recruitment of Muslims in State service.

I had an opportunity of publicly advising the students of both communities together at S. P. College in the course of my address delivered at the Jalsa of Prize Distribution in October 1929, that the goal of all educated persons should not be State-service. I hope it will not be out of place to quote here a para. of that speech :—

“That this year has as usual seen an increase in the number of students is gratifying as it indicates an ever-increasing desire for knowledge by the people of the country. But at the same time it conveys a warning to the students themselves. If the goal of all the graduates turned out by the college continues to be State-service it is my painful duty to point out to them not as a Minister but as their well-wisher and their countryman that all of them cannot expect to get State employments. It should be the aim of the students to prepare themselves and the duty of the teachers to fit them not only for Tehsildarships, Munsiffships and Clerkships, as the number of such “ships” at the disposal of the Government is too limited to accommodate every one of them. The students should be turned out to be fit for various avocations and professions like Commerce and Industry, Agriculture and like avenues that do not depend upon Government service”.

EXHIBIT No. 109.

Written Statement of Jogindhar Singh, Lt.-Colonel, Officer Commanding 5th Jammu and Kashmir Light Infantry (Witness No. 93).

29th Har 1988.

I was attending a committee in the Adjutant Quarter Master General's office, in which Brigadier Onkar Singh was the President and all other Officers Commanding Units were the members. About 2 p. m. the Brigadier ordered me to hasten to the lines at Badami Bagh and get the Unit ready, as a mob has attacked the Jail and troops are required to be sent there. I forthwith left for the lines, and on reaching there, I was told that Captain Maluk Singh with eighty other ranks had already been despatched to the Central Jail and that rest of the troops were ready or were getting ready. Soon after Brigadier Onkar Singh arrived there. On his enquiring if the men were ready I told him that they are. He ordered me to take 250 ranks and files and accompany him to Maharajganj. We reached there in lorries very soon. As we passed by we saw many looted shops near Bhuri Kadal and in Maharajganj proper which on enquiry it was found out, all belong to the Hindus.

We met there Inspector General of Police, Assistant Superintendent of Police and a few other Police officials who had arrived there before

we did. The Brigadier consulted I. G. P. on the matter of disposing of the troops in aid of the Police, who told that A. S. P. would show the places where Military troops need to be posted. Accordingly the Brigadier and my-self, having ascertained the names of places and adequate number of men required to guard each place, began to dispose off the troops as required. We had hardly finished this when Superintendent Thappa came to us with the information that a mob is to rush in from the Sheikh Mahalla and that the Military help is needed to disperse it. I under orders of Brigadier took with me Subedar Mansa Ram and 15 other ranks and went to the spot. The moment the mob saw us it began to hurl stones, brick-bats etc., upon us, which resulted in injuries to the men and myself as well. As for myself, I got two injuries, one on my left thigh (a serious one which troubled me for one week or so) and the other near the hip (right). I directed Subedar Mansa Ram to order the men to fix bayonets, which was done. No sooner the bayonets were fixed, than the mob dispersed off. Then leaving the Subedar and the men there with the instructions that the mob must not be allowed to proceed further I returned to Maharajganj. I met the Governor in the way whom I told all about this, and enquired further as to what to do in case of serious attack by the mob. He told me to wait for a while. Reaching back Maharajganj I told about all happenings to the Brigadier when I. G. P. was also present.

At about 8 p. m. in the evening while we (Brigadier and my-self) were making the tour towards Vicharnag, we saw in the way looted shops, smouldering fire and fresh ashes in the Newshehra bazar. On reaching Vicharnag it was found that some houses of the Pandits had been looted there too. At 2130 hours we returned to the Head-quarters Maharajganj.

At 2230 hours, Captain Gauri Dutta informed on phone that the mob had attacked the patrol at Dom Kadal with stones, bricks etc. and tried to snatch away the rifles. In this reprisal the patrol commander (Lance Naick Sham Singh) was compelled to open fire, resulting in one killed and one wounded. Brigadier and my-self went to the spot and found nothing except stones etc. lying on the ground near the bridge.

30th Har 1988.

Just when I was going out to patrol the disturbed area with 8 other ranks I saw men running in hot haste on the road near by. I rapidly came out of the market and saw that there was a great bustle and rush of people at the upper end of the road. Advancing on I drew quite near and found that the people had enveloped a man driving in a tonga and were hooliganising him. I ordered the mob to disperse and it dispersed off. And the man in the tonga was brought safely to A. D. M. All along this I heard the people saying "Is badmash ki kayoun maddad karte ho isi ne hi to sari loot aur barbadi karai hai". On enquiring it was known that the man in the tonga was Doctor Abdul Wahid.

At 2000 hours information was received that a mob was going to attack the village Vicharnag. Jamadar Rattan Singh was on duty there, asked them to disperse off; but they did not, and despite this assaulted with stones and caught hold of the rifles of the leading men. Hand to hand fight thus ensued, left no other alternative for the Jamadar but to fire, which resulted in the dispersion of the mob. One man was seen falling, who also ran away along with others.

31st Har 1988.

I had gone to Badami Bagh in the performance of some duty there. At 1100 hours when I came back to Head-quarters at Maharajganj I was informed that Naick Onkar Singh who was patrolling the Nawan Bazar, was hemmed in on all sides on the bridge by the mob who was pelting stones upon them (Patrol) and trying to snatch off the rifles. In

this reprisal, the said Naick was obliged to open fire on the mob, resulting in one killed and two wounded and dispersion of the mob. During these three days our patrols were stoned at different places resulting in injuries to twenty five men of my Regiment in all.

EXHIBIT No. 110.

Written Statement Pt. Satya Lal Raina, Munsiff Baramulla (Witness No. 94).

On the 29 Har 1988 I recieved an order from the Sessions Judge, Srinagar, to appear at the Central Jail before him as a witness in the case *Crown versus Abdul Qadeer*. In compliance with the order I reached the Jail at about 1-30 p. m. I saw a gathering of people in the garden in front of the prison gates. In the Jail premises I saw a workman making repairs to the iron gate of the prison. On enquiry I was informed that the Sessions Judge was in the Jail office where I went. Soon after the District Magistrate and the Additional District Magistrate reached there. The District Magistrate made some enquiry and ordered the Police to make arrests of the persons who were said to have made the attack on the Jail gates. Three or four persons arrested were being carried in when the mob outside started pelting the Police with stones. The Police tried to keep the mob back and some Police men were seriously injured. Stoning went on vigorously. The District Magistrate ordered that the mob may be dispersed by the Police armed with Lathies. This force did not prove effective. The mob made on-slaughts repeatedly and it was brought to the notice of the District Magistrate that the Police lines annexed to the Jail were looted and set fire to when he ordered Police to open fire. The Police complied with the orders and the rioters receded. At about 3 p. m. Mr. Wakefield and Brigadier Southerland arrived at the spot. The District Magistrate and Mr. Wakefield had some talk and they detailed Brigadier Southerland to Nowhatta and Thana Maharajganj. The Brigadier asked the District Magistrate as to who would be the Magistrate with him from whom he might have to take instructions if necessity arose. The District Magistrate ordered me to accompany him. I complied with the orders.

We left the Jail premises with a troop of cavalry and found *enroute* what follows:—

Open ground near Kathi Darwaza.—There was a crowd which was ordered to disperse and it moved off.

Nowhatta.—At the further end of the bazar two shops were found totally looted but no plunderer or the owners of the shops were found on the spot.

Bhuri Kadal.—On both sides of the bazar nearly 6 shops were found plundered but no plunderers or the owners of the shops were found there. Signs of loot were visible.

Zaina Kadal Main Bazar.—Shops were found closed and no signs of loot were visible.

Thana Maharajganj.—Gates were found closed. Police was called out who reported that a large crowd had assailed them and they were forced to close the doors. No crowd was found on spot. The Police was ordered to keep the doors open and to perform their duties.

Via Tashwan, Fateh Kadal and back to Bhuri Kadal.—*Bhuri Kadal Bazar running from west to east.*—Three shops were found looted but no plunderers were found on the spot. The owners of the shops too were not found there. We proceeded to Nowhatta where it was heard

that people were flocking to Juma Masjid so we went there. There were large crowds of people outside the Masjid. It was said that there were forty dead inside the Masjid. To ascertain the fact the Maulvi Sahib was sent for who was said to be in Juma Masjid. The son of the late Maulvi Sahib returned with the reply that the crowd would not allow the Maulvi Sahib to come out. The crowd was in an excited state. They pelted stones at us and the crowd nearest to us was dispersed by some Sowars. No harm was caused to any one. A patrol of cavalry was left there to maintain order in the locality near by the Masjid. We proceeded further.

Sri Ranbirganj.—There was the City Munsiff and a lorry full of Police found there. In the bazar outside the Chowk shops were found looted and a Motor car was found smashed. No plunderer was found on spot.

To Ali Kadal.—In the bazar nearly 8 shops were found looted but no plunderers were found there.

Bulbul Lanker.—The people were very panicky so we left a patrol there.

At Nawa Kadal.—The people were very panicky so we left a patrol there also.

To Safa Kadal.—From a distance of nearly a 100 yards some persons were seen carrying away some things. They ran away at our sight. They were persued too but they could not be found. We found that a shop had been looted. There was no one found at the shop when we reached there. We left a patrol there also, and we went to the Fire Brigade Station Safa Kadal on the phone. Here the Brigadier communicated the general situation and particularly the situation at Juma Masjid, which was critical, to Mr. Wakefield.

Sarai Safa Kadal.—A lorry full of soldiers was found there who were ordered to patrol on both sides of the bridge.

We split our troop into two sections. One was sent *via* Chatta-bal to meet us at Nawa-bazar. We took the route *via* Zenana Hospital side. Near a big gate on the way between Nawa Kadal and Ali Kadal two shops were found totally looted but no plunderers or the owners of shops were found there.

Ali Kadal.—Complaints of beating and loot were made by the Hindus but no crowds were there.

To Nawa-bazar.—No loot was found to have been made on the way. We met the other party at the Nawa-bazar. They reported that three shops had been found by them which had been looted in the Baggyas Bazar but they did not find any plunderers there.

Via Fateh Kadal, Haba Kadal to Gao Kadal.—Between Ahalmar and Gao Kadal a crowd of people was found who were ordered to disperse. The Hindus expressed great panic. So we left a patrol there also.

The looted shops were to my belief all those of Hindus. From what I witnessed I could gather that the loot had taken place simultaneously at all the places.

Throughout whole town the Hindus were found panic-stricken and the Musalmans excited.

I was taken by the Brigadier Southerland to Ram Niyas and there the Brigadier appeared before His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur to report the situation.

On the 30th Har 1988 I was ordered to go to Juma Masjid taking some respectable Musalmans along to see that arrangements were made to burry the dead. I left Ram Nivas with Colonel Rahmat Ullah Khan and Colonel Ghansar Singh at 5-30 a. m.

From Khanyar I took Khawaja Noor Shah from his house who told me that he had made arrangements for the burial of the dead in the burial ground at Naqashband Sahib under the orders of the Governor. He added that he had been deputed on duty by the Governor at Juma Masjid. He showed me the burial place. And then we went to Juma Masjid. Some Military force was present there and more forces were coming.

Disturbances at Vicharnag were heard of and Pandit Raghu Nath Tehsildar left for the place with some troops. No Police arrangements were found at the Juma Masjid.

The Brigadier R. O. Southerland arrived there at about at 8-45 a. m. Soon after the D. I. G. Police and the District Superintendent Police arrived there. One Mohammed Abdulla was arrested and the D. I. G. Police and the D. S. Police left at the same time.

I stated all the arrangements to the Brigadier who had a talk with Kh. Noor Shah also. Then we went to see the burial place. Satisfying ourselves with the arrangements we returned to the Masjid.

Mr. Vosper of the Mission Hospital reached the place who went into the mosque to examine the bodies of the deceased. Mir Waiz Maulvi Yusaf Shah was called out of the Masjid and it was arranged with him that only 50 men should accompany the burial party besides those who would carry the biers. At about 9-30 a. m. Mr. Wakefield arrived there.

Mir Waiz made a request that all the dead should be taken out of the mosque and then all the biers should be taken together; and so all the 11 corpses were taken out and then the party proceeded to the burial place. Burrying was commenced when I was called by Mr. Wakefield to Juma Masjid. After a while there I was carried back by him to the Naqashband Sahib's. Soon after the burial ceremony was completed; and the mourning party returned to the mosque. Then all the people left the mosque.

The same day I went on a round about the town with Brigadier Southerland at about 6-30 p. m. At Baggyas Police Chowki we found three men arrested who were reported to have been throwing stones at the soldiers performing their duty. The Police was ordered to take proper action immediately. The troop there pointed out a house from which stones had been thrown on them while patrolling. The Brigadier ordered the Policemen present to arrest the persons throwing stones. The Police entered the house accompanied by two soldiers. The persons were not found. Three bits of bar silver and one *loi* were produced by Sultan Mir constable No. 563 who was ordered to take proper action regarding the property atonce.

On the 31st Har 1988 I was asked to go with Colonel Parsidh Singh to Habba Kadal at 7-30 a. m. In compliance with the orders I went to Habba Kadal. I found that Hayaldar Bir Singh had arrested one person near Kani Kadal who had been found infringing the order promulgated by the District Magistrate. Pratap Singh Lancer had seen a large number of persons beating a Kashmiri Pandit at Karfali Mohalla, and had arrested one person from amongst them. The Military men were directed to take the arrested persons to the Police station for proper action.

At 9 a. m. I left with the Brigadier for Nawa-bazar, where Mrs. Thakur Dass, a nursing sister, informed us of a clash between the mob and the troops saying that the mob stoned at the troops and the troops fired

at the crowd. On making further enquiries she did not seem to be clear on the facts of the event.

A man wounded in the ankle was brought by his friends in a tonga. He requested that he would go to the Mission Hospital for treatment and the I. G. Police sent him in his car. We went to Tashwan Picket Head-quarter to make enquiries from the concerned picket. Naick Onkar Singh said that two crowds came from opposite directions near the Nawa-bazar bridge; he ordered the crowd to disperse who refused. The crowd abused the troops and pelted stones at the soldiers. Eventually one amongst the mob advanced and seized the rifle of a soldier so the Naick was obliged to open fire. A corpse was brought on a *charpoy* stated to have been killed in this scuffle. He was sent in a Military lorry to the Government Hospital.

Two wounded persons were found being carried in a troop lorry to the Government Hospital.

Captain Wreford came in his car with a wounded person Pandit Gwash Lal. The Pandit said that he had been beaten by the Musalmans at Nawa-bazar. He had injuries on his face and a wound 2" long in his side. We returned to Nawa-bazar where the above mentioned Pandit pointed out certain persons who had beaten him and robbed him of his possessions. The D. I. G. Police present was asked to take proper action against them. The same day a disturbance at Amira Kadal was heard of. The Brigadier went to the spot with some cavalry with Colonel Ghansar Singh on foot. Hindus were found panic stricken but nothing particularly worth taking action against was found. Confidence and order was restored.

On the 1st Sawan 1988 I left with the Brigadier for a round in the town at about 6 a. m. At Naid Kadal complaints against the Military were made by the Musalmans. One man said that a soldier took Rs. 2 from him. He was carried to the spot he pointed out. In the way he made various contradictory statements and when we reached the spot he absolutely denied having paid any tip.

At Rainawari a Musalman shop-keeper complained of loot by two troops on the preceding night. An European Nursing Sister was said to be a witness but on further enquiry it was found that she had heard only an altercation and it was too dark for her to have seen anything happening. The shop was examined. No damage to the shop or containers in the shop could be noticed.

The complaints appeared to frivolous.

EXHIBIT No. 111.

Written Statement of G. A. Mukhtar (Witness No. 68), dated 4th September 1931.

Suggestions for the uplift and advancement of Muslim education in His Highness' Government, Jammu and Kashmir.

With a view to open generous educational opportunities it is fortunate that the Government have been very deliberately aiming at imparting education to the subjects—of all classes and creeds—and have enforced its compulsory aspect in towns and cities to begin with. It is at the same time striking to see how eagerly the Muslim public has welcomed such wholesome and generous intention of the Government; the evidence of which is borne by the success of the compulsory scheme of education in attracting thousands of Muslim

students to Compulsory Schools. But here it is a point of great consequence that mere overwhelmingly large admission to these schools does not solve the problem of their educational salvation, and does not safeguard for all those facilities, without the provision of which Muslim education is bound to remain as backward as it was in the past. It is therefore hoped that the beneficial Government will seriously investigate into the conditions under which Muslim education would succeed, by creating certain new facilities, and by removing the apparently obstructing circumstances that interfere in their making a bold headway towards progress in education. Starting from the primary education we can find that for most glaring reasons Muslim students cannot help making a late and untimely start—Muslims are universally disposed towards giving their sons religious education, considering religious education to have a prior claim and a significant place in their pursuit for education undertaken by every individual Muslim student. It is therefore that a large majority of Muslims who are eager to impart secular education to their children, send their sons to Government Primaries after their Maktab course (consisting of the study of holy Quran and elementary Muslim theology) is completed. And in the rest of the cases in which Muslim students make a direct approach to Primary Schools, at the apparent sacrifice of religious education, a consequent disgust is engendered in their parents, when their religious sentiment is interfered with—there being no provision for Quranic teaching and elementary theology in schools. This circumstance is for the important part responsible for the decrease of Muslim students in Primary and Secondary courses of study. Muslim students give up attendance in schools gradually until towards the ninth and tenth classes that vast majority of Muslim students, present in the Primary standards, dwindles into a petty number of a limited few. It is therefore of great consequence in this connection to thrash out the various issues of this problem, and strike at their most practicable solution. In order to meet the end of providing teaching in Muslim theology and Al-Quran, without letting students being detained in private Maktab, prior to their going to State Primaries, provision may be made for such teaching in State Primaries through the agency of Arabic teachers. While interpreting the sentiments of the Muslim, it is much nearer to truth to say that it is not Arabic as classical language which they insist upon having in Primary and Secondary standards for their children, but the teaching of Al-Quran and elementary Muslim theology. An adequate provision of such teaching in our well organised Government schools will afford a relief to the general bias of Muslim mass, and thus Muslims would have anything but great pleasure to send their sons to Government Primaries, in good time. It is worth mentioning in this connection that Government have kept Arabic teachers' posts in many Primary and Secondary schools. But Arabic teachers deal with Arabic language, and as such it remains as good as classical language, but in Primaries and Middles, it should also take the shape of regular instructions in Al-Quran and elementary Muslim theology through the agency of Arabic teachers. The appointments of Arabic teachers meant to satisfy this need should necessitate than to have a thorough knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages. Teachers entitled to Arabic posts may not under present circumstances be matriculates, but must be approved by a Board-of-Selection (to be created for this purpose by the Government consisting of well-versed Arabic and Persian Muslim Scholars) as being adequately fit for the post of Arabic teachers. The presence of an Arabic post in every Primary and Secondary is anything but indispensable, with a view to satisfy the above need of the Muslim mass. Introducing Muslim theology on the above lines in all Primary schools where Muslim students are expected to increase in large number, is encouraging them to make an early start, and giving them a relief from detention in Maktab.

The teaching staff of such Primary schools gives rise to a problem of serious consideration. Since in the schools of Primary standard the number of Muslim students is enormously large, it is reasonable to hold that the number of Muslim teachers should also be so. This may be taken to hold good with greater need and efficacious results in the case of village schools, where there is generally purely Muslim element. The necessity of furnishing village Primary schools, and Compulsory schools in particular with a large share of Muslim staff is not far to see. The personal influence which a Muslim teacher can exert in a Muslim locality, through his affinity of social ties, religious beliefs, traditional practices, with the Muslim students of that locality is immensely conducive to the attraction of Muslim students to that school. The parents of such students can form better relationships with such staff, and thus a co-operation of the parents and teachers can be brought about, which is an essential condition for the education of young boys. But are Muslim matriculates available, who could take up the teaching of three "Rs." in Primary schools? If we advertise at the time when we require them it is probable to get the required number. The existing Mohammedan teachers who possess Matric certificates or other diplomas, and are working as Arabic teachers, should be got trained and be sent in general lines. The greater confidence which Muslim mass is disposed to place in teachers, who are their co-religionists is nothing but natural, and its justifiability having once been realised the solution of the problem of the advancement of Muslim education lies in the hands of authorities. Appointment of Muslim teachers of all grades in schools is a much felt demand of the Muslims. This is one of the most efficient inducement for Muslim boys in Government schools. It is appealing only for what is just, to say that appointment of the teachers be made with a view to the local conditions. Schools where a larger number of Muslim students or sometimes purely Muslim students (as in the case of some villages) are expected to come; such schools must be staffed with a large share of Muslim teachers.

The generous educational policy of the Government which is manifest in the very inauguration of Primary Compulsory Education is a great step taken towards uplift and advance of Muslim education. Let us hope that the Government will be equally considerate with regard to the important problem, that arises in the way of making this scheme successful and compatible with the needs and conditions of Muslim public. That while on the one hand the sons of all—even those of the extremely poor citizens, widows, and helpless orphans—are bound to attend such schools, they are at the same time to face a strong contest with their pecuniary troubles. For in the large majority of cases Muslim boys are necessitated by their humble origin and straightened circumstances to take up petty arts just after their 6th or 7th year, thereby earning wages of a few pice, and thus they manage to perpetuate their life, along with one or two others concerned with them. In some cases unfortunately compulsory attendance at schools results in more or less the starvation of the lad, in so far as he being the only or the main earning source, ceases to be so, under compulsion to attend a school. In such cases where poverty is not merely an excuse, but a real impediment monetary encouragement in the shape of a liberal and suitable scholarships is essential, and it can safely be said that in each Primary Compulsory School, there exists sufficiently large number of students coming under this category. The award of monetary help in the case of extremely poor cases referred to above is again necessitated for the following facts :—

Sons of poor artists, labourers, and meanials have a justifiable temptation for going in as apprentices in stalls, and artisans' shops. This, in most cases, is done out of real need and not out of avarice for money—they have to live on what they earn. Thus it is safe to assert that a great relief to their inconvenience in the way of acquiring compulsory Primary education will be removed by the grant of liberal and generous scholar-

ships. In the case of students of village Primaries it is profitable to encourage them by the award of text books, and other material in course of their study in addition to the monetary help to be given to them, while considering the problem of education in relation to rural areas is necessary to make it specially adjusted to the needs, interests, and future possibilities of the people amidst whom the schools are set. For the educational needs and future possibilities of villages are different from those of the towns, in so far as the environment of the former is different from that of the latter. After completing the Primary course such village students who do not go in for further education, are bound to take up their agricultural pursuit. This they have to take up with great reluctance at the outset for the fact that there is an apparent disparagement and a radical change of interest, when they are to enter into the field with a plough. Let us wish therefore that the scholastic instructions in such schools be so arranged as to allow no interference with the professional work of their agricultural life. Further it is not an idealistic view to suggest that instructions in agriculture are much near to their practical needs, and future possibilities than anything else. With a view to this end let us hope that gradual steps will be taken by our Government towards popularising education in village schools by including agricultural instructions in village schools of tomorrow. It is at present a need to start agricultural schools in towns at least, with a bigger agricultural institution in the city, to which students of villages should have access. Opening such an important avenue for such villagers who are eager to take more advanced opportunities than the rest will be specially conducive to popularising education among this class of subjects. What goes in close alliance with the above is the important problem that most of the villagers who are really earnest about sending up their boys for Secondary course or High School course are immediately dissuaded from doing so, by the fact that there are apparently no adequate arrangements for their residence in cities and towns. Villagers have their homes in villages and having come into cities and towns they are generally homeless. It will be simply encouraging their further studies if the Government were pleased to start a boarding house with sufficiently large accommodation, and for the special use of village students. It will immensely add to the generous educational policy of the Government to award liberal scholarships to students who out of pure love for education come to cities and towns and enter Secondary or Higher courses of study. Villagers who thus matriculate, or obtain other and higher diplomas may with preference be taken to serve in village schools—for as it is on the one hand employing a teacher more familiar with the dispositions and customary traditions of the villagers, and on the other he is an example before them of one of their own class, and thus they will be stimulated to put more energy and interest in work. A large majority of Muslims comprises of agriculturists, artisans and labourers, many among whom are forced by their straitened pecuniary circumstances to employ their boys in manual work, at or about the advent of their reaching school age. It is their utter destitution and lack of means which compel them to sell their sons' welfare at such cheap rate of a few pice a day as their daily wages. The deplorable decrease in the number of Muslim students becomes a striking feature of their education, when we observe the immensely large number of Muslim students in Primaries, remarkably great fall in the Secondaries, and an abnormally great decrease in the College course. On the ground of ample evidence we can arrive at an important issue that often students give up further study at one or other of these stages owing to the genuine detriment of their pecuniary troubles. For the award of liberal scholarships on purely financial basis, creation of a Board-of-Scholarships is necessary, which will be responsible for investigating into the truth or otherwise of students pleading poverty as their excuse. This Board has to safeguard the interests of those really poor and should consist of some official and respectable non-official Muslim members. The non-official members will play an important role in ascertaining the real domestic particulars in connection with the advisability and need of awarding poverty scholarships to the students, and the official

members who will be specially those who are concerned with Education Department, will watch their fair progress in school work. They will also be concerned to keep in view the merits of those going in for scholarships, and such students who failing in the advance in education, they should forfeit their scholarships in favour of other Muslim students, who show desirable advance, and have poverty as their stigma. The Board recommended above will satisfy the two-fold function of ascertaining the poverty and progress of Muslim students, and will take good care to recommend scholarships in favour of most deserving cases. The liberal Muslim scholarships which it is hoped that the benevolent Government be pleased to grant. Having been distributed in the above manner throughout Primary, Secondary and College course, we come to tackle the vital problem of post-graduate scholarships—it is beyond the possibility of any doubt that many of the Muslim students who graduate themselves in the local college are debarred from under-going higher studies mainly on financial grounds. Their natural bent to go in for different trainings, their eagerness to shine in different spheres, get unfortunately suppressed, as soon as the financial consideration comes to the front. It is hoped that the Government will have anything but pleasure to encourage Muslim students with a grant of liberal and suitable scholarships for undergoing post-graduate, academic and training courses. In addition to an adequate number of such scholarships debt of honour (repayable scholarship amount) may also be levied on Mohammedan students who are earnest about going in for post-graduate courses of studies. This amount should be repayable when the incumbent becomes an earning agent and thereby convenient instalments. This debt should rest on the personal responsibility of the incumbent since in the event of his death, his parents poor as they may be cannot feel equal to the refunding of the debt levied on the incumbent. (No scholarship awarded to students studying in local secondary institutions should assume the form of the Debt-of-Honour).

It is granted at all hands that a knowledge of three Rs. is but essential for every individual child, we cannot overlook for a moment numerous other avenues and profitable channels, for which boys in general have a natural aptitude to volunteer themselves—the professional and artistic opportunity on technical lines. Muslim boys of this place in particular have a hereditary art-instinct, and it is beyond doubt that when after completing their Primary course they go in for occupational lines, they are likely to make a bold headway towards progress therein. The parents of many of them are engaged in various arts and practical occupation, but they do not know the technique of those arts. It would be worth while for their children to enter the Government art institute, where they learn these arts on technical lines. It is thus that large number of Muslim students who after completing their Primary course, and who for some reason are not disposed towards obtaining further secular education can well direct their energies in such profitable avenues. But the approach of Muslim students to technical institution needs being facilitated by the satisfaction of the following conditions, keeping minimum qualifications to be primary education for admission in the Government technical institutes, except of course in the case of engineering and sub-overseer class. Award of liberal scholarships in the cases where poverty is otherwise an efficient inducement to call students back to stalls' and artisans shops immediately after the completion of Primary course. Making Muslim employees responsible for a good share of instructional work of the institution—by employing them on different grades and capacities in the institution. Extending generous encouragement to those who complete different courses of the institution by employing them when opportunities and vacancies that occur in various departments of the Government, corresponding to their respective vocations.

Closely allied with Primary education is the aspect of Secondary education, in which the disastrous fall in the number of Muslim

students demands serious consideration. It is true that many students owing to their natural bent of mind, or particular external circumstances are not disposed towards going on with further education after the Primary course is over. We need not undertake to seek any solution for driving such individuals to the schools. But there is a considerably large number of other Muslim students who have real zest and true passion for prosecuting Secondary studies, and yet wait for the opportunity when their benign Government would generously facilitate Secondary education by making it compatible with their needs and conditions. The following recommendations are made to that effect:—

An adequate attention may be paid to investigate into the pecuniary conditions of the students on whom tuition-fee is to be imposed in schools. Muslim senior teachers may be entrusted with this office, who after thorough inquiry into the home circumstances of the boy or boys will recommend for the imposition or otherwise of tuition-fee. Muslim students should not be refused admission in any class of the Secondary schools, provided their discharge certificates of the previous schools entitle them to the admission applied for, and in the absence of possessing such Discharge Certificate they shall be liable to school test. In many cases these students do not receive admission because from all approachable schools they learn that the prescribed and required number of seats has already been occupied—under such circumstances they have simply to wander about and waste their youthful energy in unprofitable directions. The benevolent Government has every pleasure to ascertain as to how the aggregate of all rightful interests of Muslim students in Government Secondary schools can be safeguarded. Surely an important condition in this direction is satisfied by making an adequate addition in both the senior and junior Muslim staff of Government Secondary schools. That the senior staff is ill-equipped with Muslim incumbents at present can be corroborated from the figures taken from the concerned departments. Senior teachers of a school have a voice strong enough to steer the internal affairs of a school. Hence every Secondary school in which Muslim students are expected to come in a satisfactory number must be staffed with a good share of Muslim senior teachers. It is quite relevant to the point dealt with here to recommend that a larger share of Muslim senior teachers should be deputed to such schools, where the number of Muslim students is predominantly large. It is not out of place to mention in this connection that in many of such schools there is not a single Muslim teacher existing on the staff at present. But what is rather practicable solution for the satisfaction of this much cherished aspiration and a much felt need of the Muslims. It is true that candidates eligible for senior grades must be trained graduates or experienced under-graduates. Trained graduates in general according to the existing practice are to start on Rs. 40 p. m. A teacher who makes such a start and with such qualifications cannot entertain a prospective view of his future. With a view to remove the present dirth of Muslim senior teachers a good number of Muslim graduates may be deputed to undergo training during the following years, and on the completion of the said course, they may be appointed on much more lucrative posts than that of Rs. 40 p. m. For a Muslim trained graduate to start at least on the grade on which trained graduates are appointed in the plains (80—125) is an ample encouragement for serving in this department. The above is probably the only conceivable way, in which Muslim trained graduates can find opportunities for entering into the senior staff of the schools.

Not the least over-estimation can be attributed to the fact that there is a large number of Muslim students who give up their further education after matriculation on the basis of monetary difficulties. A liberal number of scholarships may be allotted for Muslim students in the college, for the acquisition of which competition should be allowed to take place among Muslim students themselves. The consideration of merit in the award of Muslim scholarships in the college is never to be

undermined. But keeping the striking feature of the backwardness of Muslim education in the fore-front, the consideration of poverty in the award of Muslim scholarships under present circumstances can never be banished. In the case of Muslim students poverty and merit should form a combined criterion for their reception of Muslim scholarships and competition of merit should be limited among the existing number of Muslim students themselves. Provision may be kept for a fair number of free-ships for Muslim students, here also as above combined criterion of poverty and merit may be made the basis of the award of free-ships allotted for Muslim students. The poor fund may be started to which other Muslim students may contribute, and this amount will go in the shape of Text books, and University fee to the extremely poor students. In addition to the above award of the debt-of-honour may be allowed on the lines already quoted, in certain deserving cases. On the entire staff of both the colleges Jammu and Srinagar there are only two Muslim Professors, and two Lecturers, three out of whom are concerned with oriental languages—Arabic and Persian. It is recommended with great emphasis that in filling future vacancies in various faculties and departments of these colleges special consideration should be made to employ Muslim incumbents of suitable qualifications.

With a view to the deplorably small number of Muslim science students in S. P. College, a generous modification of the existing strong restrictions of merit may be made. A certain number of seats may be allotted to Muslim students and then distribution of these on the basis of merit may take place among the Muslim students forthcoming for admission.

Much can be said on the benevolent intentions of the Government in the direction of creating commendable educational opportunities for the wide-spread of education throughout the length and breadth of the country. Schools are from time to time multiplying in number, but the inspecting staff has remained much the same as it was years before. It is not only desirable but particularly essential for the advance of Muslim education, that in filling up future vacancies of such posts Muslim incumbents should be taken in. It will remain an important factor of their office to give timely suggestions to the department with a view to local conditions of the Muslims. They will also take good care to make necessary recommendations with regard to facilitating Muslim education in future. The one existing Assistant Inspector of Schools bearing the designation of "Assistant Inspector for Mohammedan Education" should be authorised to consider it an important part of his office to make recommendations for the uplift and advancement of Muslim education. Since the very creation of this post has been done with a view to the satisfaction of the function and vocation which the designation (Assistant Inspector of Schools for Mohammedan Education) implies.

The Government has been generously maintaining a Pathshala attached to the Government High School, Srinagar, which is virtually a Sanskrit College for Higher Proficiency Examinations in Sanskrit, wherefrom scores of highly educated and certificated youths have during the past years been produced. The Muslims have been watching with interest the admirable success that the institution has been achieving in the way of its own purpose.....But the Muslims are regretting their own lack of having a similar centre for learning Arabic and Persian languages, where Muslim youths as well could be enable to study and obtain higher University diplomas in Arabic and Persian. Bringing such an institution into existence will be in the first place conducive to the preservation of old learning in these oriental languages, and will produce highly certificated youths in these languages. There is a large number of Muslim youths who possess a dominating inclination for the acquisition of learning in the said languages, but cannot obtain regular

and satisfactory coaching in these languages from anywhere—there being unfortunately no recognized seat or centre for learning these languages at present. Opening of an Oriental College or institution will not only satisfy a much felt need of the Muslims, but through its existence Education Department will also be annually benefitted by employing highly certificated Muslim teachers on posts pertaining to oriental teaching in schools—the same purpose is well achieved by the existing institution for higher Sanskrit learning.

Teachers worth the name, should be trained teachers, who can efficiently take up the task entrusted to them in schools. It is at present striking to find that though the number of schools is multiplying largely, yet training of teachers takes place on much the same scale, as it was done years before. For Kashmir Province there is only one Normal School and the maximum number of J. V. Certificated teachers that it can produce, is 45 annually. Obviously this number of trained teachers produced is not proportionate to the ever-increasing demand of teachers adequately trained. It is recommended to start a J. V. Training Class in attachment with some important High schools and to considerably elevate the status of the present Normal school. So that the teachers could be able to obtain J. A. V. and C. T. certificates from these institutions. In towns and cities L. P. training classes may be started in attachment with the existing first grade Middle schools running there. It will be in keeping with the greatly felt need of Muslim teachers to suggest that good many opportunities for undergoing training should be given to Muslims in these institutions.

The important problem of Adult education deserves serious consideration. Opening this important avenue would be conducive to the removal of the perfect illiteracy of a large mass of aspirant youths whose peculiar circumstances have deprived them from the blessings of literacy. Such aspiring youths anxiously wait for the opportunity when they could share the polish and enlightenment that Adult schools are sure to afford to them. Engaged as they remain during the day with various arts and crafts, their evening time can be well spent in achieving the benefits of literacy. The existing schools can contribute much in the way of facilitating the running of such Adult schools. In most cases the same accommodation can be utilized, and energetic teachers of the same institution can be employed in this night duty, on the payment of an extra allowance. Again the existing Maktabas can be recognized as night schools, provided they arrange the curriculum and instructions in the manner prescribed by the department. These Maktabas have the special feature of attracting large number of adults, and deserve being patronized and guided in their work.

The problem of Girl education has received due attention by the Government and has during the past years shown satisfactory advancement in its way to success. Yet much can be done to the effect of making it adjusted to the needs and conditions of Muslim public. It is true that many of the recommendations made with respect to the staff and students of male schools, equally hold good in case of these schools, so far as the Muslims are concerned. The Government have given ample evidence of its generous educational policy in the way of encouraging the Girl education by the award of lucrative and generous scholarships, it is hoped that the Government would have pleasure to encourage the Girl education, with some of the same facilities as recommended for the Muslim boys.

To justify the view that poverty is a real impediment in the majority of cases, it is in keeping with the present context to add a few words here. The Menial class can after hard toil of strenuous daily labour, make a fortune hardly sufficient for the perpetuation of life. Artisans who comprise a large section of Muslim public earn scanty wages varying within a few annas a day on which they manage to live a

hand to mouth life. The poor peasants with the sweat of their brow produce what is just sufficient to feed them all the year round. The so-called rich Muslim traders of this country form an insignificant percentage against the overwhelming majority of the poverty-stricken Muslims. Moreover what holds good for this petty percentage cannot be universalized for Muslims at large.

The desire for good educational opportunities for children has been an outstanding factor in the public opinion of this country, as it has been with other advancing countries of the world. Government responds to the growing demand for more extended educational opportunities, and have been assisting both boys and girls according to their needs, to fit themselves practically and intellectually, for the work of life. The Government also realized that Home and School should in an united effort enable the children not merely to reach their full development as individuals, but should also become upright and useful members of the community in which they live, and worthy sons and daughters of the country to which they belong. So far the influence and achievements of education in this country have appeared in the form of mental and moral advance, and in the gradual decay of old prejudices and conservative traditions. It is pleasant that the schools are successful in their work and teachers have quickened and deepened their feeling of responsibility about the education of the taught. But considering the problem of education in relation to the Muslims of this country it can safely be asserted that they are much behind in this direction. It is true that the Government have been effectively feeling the need of backing up their education by judicious encouragements and is anxious to remove this ban of backwardness in education from its loyal Muslim subjects. We are not at all prepared for a moment to attribute the present backwardness of Muslim education to the misconceived notion that Muslims have less enthusiasm or feeble initiative for acquiring education. Rather it must be believed that those are pecuniary and other circumstances which are responsible for their universally acknowledged backwardness in education. It is however hoped that the benign Government will have pleasure and interest in extending its generous educational policy towards the Muslims, of which it has already given evidences. The foregoing recommendations are made simply with a view to amplify the genuine needs of the Muslims in their pursuit for education, without meaning to cast any reflection on any issue, irrelevant to the province of the subject at hand. We fervently hope that the ban of backwardness will, by expeditious measures and by judicious encouragement, be removed from the Muslims of this Government. It is true that the inter-relations of various existing communities in this Government will become all-the-more secure, if they not only wish, but seriously strive to make educated a common attribute of all. A sincere wish that concludes the above is that various communities deserve being encouraged in whatever directions they are rightly and universally known to be backward.

We trust that the benevolent Government will take every possible measure for providing the above needed facilities in the way of advancing Muslim education. The following recommendation is made with a view to suggest a practicable means for satisfying most of the forementioned needs of Muslims in their education. It is believed that the Juma-Musjid-reconstruction-fund which was levied on Muslim Zamindars at the rate of two pice per rupee of the land revenue, can (if it is revived) be profitably utilized in the way of encouraging and facilitating the Muslim education. The fund if levied on the Muslim Zamindars as before, would approximately amount to 60,000 Rupees, annually. The amount being collected with land revenue, its disposal may be made by the Government in consultation with well educated Muslim representative body, in the way of facilitating Muslim education.

EXHIBIT No. 112.

Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Khawaja Ghulam Qadir Kapra of Sri Ranbirganj Bazar, Srinagar (Witness No. 96).

Although the Muslim public have expressed their unwillingness to co-operate with the Commission, I, as a liberal minded subject, beg to submit the following facts witnessed by me:—

I used to attend *W'az* delivered by Maulana Mohammed Yusaf at Juma Masjid on Friday before 13th of July 1931. After the *W'az* Sh. Mohammed Abdulla, M. sc., Abdul Rahim., B. A., LL. B., and Ghulam Nabi, student S. P. College Srinagar, and others usually delivered speeches and sermons. Every lecturer showed loyalty towards the Government. I always found them preaching to be loyal. We always thought of placing our legitimate demands before His Highness. We had every hope that our demands shall be sanctioned by our justice-loving ruler, if presented to him with due respects. The public must pray to God for our Maharaja to remain kind and merciful and for the removal of present tyrannies. His Highness had announced that his religion was nothing but justice. I never found any of the above speeches to be objectionable. One day a mammoth meeting was held at Khanqah-i-Maula. The citizens and many of the village people assembled there, selected the following seven representatives to place their grievances before His Highness, (1) Maulvi Mohammed Yusaf, (2) Mir Waiz Hamdani Ahmad Ulla, (3) Kh. Saad-ud-Din Shawl, (4) Syed Mir Hussain Shah Jalali, (5) Sh. Mohammed Abdulla, M. sc., (6) Kh. Gulam Ahmad Ashai, (7) M. Shab-ud-Din. The City Magistrate Pandit Satya Lal was present on the spot. After the selection some of the persons present in the meeting expressed their feelings of loyalty and gave willing consent to the proposed selection. The following three persons are noteworthy:—

- (1) M. Mohammed Yusaf.
- (2) Abdul Rahim, B. A. LL. B.
- (3) Sh. Mohammed Abdulla, M. sc.

After that the prayer was said. At the close of prayer one Abdul Qadeer delivered a short speech emphasising the necessity of union communal or otherwise, and for the protection of the holy Quran. Not a single word causing a breach of peace was uttered by him. On Friday next I went to Hazratbal shrine, where thousands of people had gathered. After saying their prayers they retired to I'd Gah ground named Tang Bagh on the western side of Hazratbal. I also followed and saw that in an open place near a chinar tree some chairs and a table had been arranged. On inquiry from the managers I was told that the Governor would come to throw light on the alleged event of defilement of the holy Quran at Jammu. I sat there. The Governor, the Wazir and some Police officers arrived on the spot and took their seats. First of all the public raised a cry that they did not like to listen anything in the presence of certain four persons whom they did not like. The Governor paid no heed to this request of the public and remained quiet. This resulted in a regular row. The people then dispersed and took their way towards the Juma Masjid. Both the Maulvis joined in audience that remained behind. The Governor asked Maulvi Mohammed Yusaf to announce to the public that the information regarding the defilement of Quran was not true. This was accordingly done by the said Maulvi. Kh. Saad-ud-Din Shawl then delivered a speech asking the people to give up that attitude. He further declared that the selected representatives would submit their grievances to His Highness.

On the 13th July 1931, I returned at about noon and went to sleep after taking my meals. I got up at about 2-30 owing to a noise from outside and seated myself in a window of the house. The passers-by were saying that the Police had opened fire on the Muslims assembled at the Jail to hear the case Crown *versus* Abdul Qadeer. A few of them were dead and a few were wounded. Another person was heard speaking loudly that *hartal* had taken place. I went to the Maharajganj Bazar and saw the Muslims closing their shops and carrying dead bodies. The Kashmiri Pandits and the Khattris laughed at them. I noticed the Muslims weeping bitterly. The Punjabi Khattris with *dandas* in their hands were running towards the Muslims. The party was carrying the corpses. Hindus also observed complete *hartal*. Another party was seen with a dead body coming from Badshah side. No sooner did this enter the Maharajganj Market, Bhagat Karm Chand jumped over them with a Lathi and belaboured a few of them. Cries were heard that the Hindus had killed a man by severe beating. I did not see any Muslim looting the Hindu shops. After this I returned to my house; shutting all the doors of the lower storey went up to see further development. After a short time the Military arrived. I saw a Military detachment with officials and Punjabi Hindus and Kashmiri Pandits passing by my house. I also saw some Pandits and Punjabi Hindus carrying tea bags and pieces of cloths. A party of Kashmiri Pandits and Punjabi Hindus with some soldiers came to attack my house. But my neighbours B. Amir Chand and L. Rattan Chand and a Kashmiri Pandit saved me and my family from loot and assault. It was also seen that several Muslim passers-by old and young and many boys of tender age were dragged forcibly by the Military soldiers and Hindus and were carried away in lorries. The Muslims thus arrested were crying loudly (God knows we did not loot). A party of Hindus and soldiers entered the house of one of my neighbours Sadiq Joo. He cried that his house was being looted. A ventilator of his house gave way as a result of this attack. Another party with Pandit Bhim Sen, City Munsiff, was seen passing through the bazar.

My minor son Ghulam Hussain went to school on 13th July and did not return until the evening. I grew anxious. It was about 9 p.m. that I saw two Kashmiri Muslims walking with dishes of some Kashmiri meals. The Military soldiers arrested them and called a Pandit to take the accused to B. Karam Chand.

On 14th July at about 6 a. m. I went out in search of my son to the house of Kh. Abdulla Joo Bassoo. I saw Pandits and Military soldiers going in and coming out of his house and remained outside on the road to see what were they doing. I saw the Pandits taking away on their shoulders bags of tea and many other things. The Military soldiers arrested Abdulla and his son as an accused and also took away a *dussa* of the Khawaja. I returned home. But it struck me that I had to attend the Court as an Assessor for a Sessions case so I left for the Court. In my way I saw the Ronagari mosque with broken doors and windows. Soon after this I met an officer who told me that there was a public holiday that day. Then I walked to Juma Masjid where I saw a few corpses of Muslims on *charpoy*s. A man told me that Police had arrested my son and had taken him to the Jail. I returned home dejected. Shortly after it was heard that Hindus had murdered Dr. Abdul Wahid.

On 15th July at 5 in the evening I went to see a friend of mine. On reaching near his residence I was told that the Military soldiers and some Kashmiri Pandits were inside the house. I stood by to see what would they do. After a short time I saw the Military coming out with my friend Kh. Gulam Ahmad and some gentlemen Ghulam Mahommed, Master Government High School, Salam Din clerk, Mohidin and Ahmad Said in arrest. When they left the place I went inside the house and saw a woman lying on the floor in a senseless condition. I enquired from a person standing by to let me know about the matter. He told me that all

persons of the house have been taken away by the Military and that they had struck hard blows to the poor woman. I returned home after seeing these happenings.

On 16th July at 10 a. m. I received a message from Pandit Shambu Nath, the Ward Commissioner, through M. Rashid-ud-Din, Arabic Lecturer, P. W. College Jammu and a Military Captain asking me to see the Pandit for an important business. I went to Nawa Kadal and sent for a Military soldier. I heard people saying that two persons died as a result of Military firing. Pandit Shambu Nath came and informed me about a Government order deputing influential men with the Military patrol to avoid disturbances. Leaving Nawa Kadal with Pt. Shambu Nath we reached Ali Kadal where a holy tomb was shown to us defiled and damaged. The doors and windows of the tomb were broken and the lamps were broken to pieces. The walls were damaged at several places. Then we proceeded to Bazar Ganiatmanz where we saw a Hindu draper's shop, which was emptied. Three shops of Muslims were also seen without contents. The wooden planks of these shops were seen lying in the bazar torn to pieces.

At noon I again went out to patrol to Maharajganj. Karam Chand the proprietor of the Firm Kothi Tulsi Ram Kesho Dass was seen with 2 or 3 men in the shop taking away pieces of cloths and bags of tea. He was seen laughing. Again I also saw Durga Das Kotoo Mal and some other Hindus near Fire Brigade Chowki carrying bundles of cloths and gathering scattered pieces. Several things kept hidden under wooden planks were also noticed by me. I came to know that he had emptied his shop at Bhuri Kadal and several other shop-keepers had also done the same thing. All other shops were closed. I saw the doors of the shops of Haji Samad Joo Abdulla Joo, Drapers broken. After this all big officials of the State were seen visiting the shop of B. Karam Chand. After these occurrences I noticed all the Hindu shops regularly doing business in Maharajganj. Muslim shops remained closed for 17 days.

EXHIBIT No. 113.

Written Statement of Pandit Dina Nath Razdan, Budhger, Srinagar-Kashmir (Witness No. 97).

With reference to your order No. 131, dated 30th July 1931, I beg to submit my true statement as follows:—

I had no idea that there would be a loot on the 13th of July 1931. As usual I had gone to Gupkar where I was employed in the building construction work. I returned from the work at 12 noon. When I reached Habba Kadal I entered the house of my sister for some work. I remained there for about 2 hours. There I heard that the Maharajganj Bazar was being looted. I ran out and saw that the shops were being closed. I went towards my house, when I reached near Mission School the Mohammedans pelted me. I ran and entered into the building of the school. Mr. Biscoe's son accompanied some of his students and I joined that party for safe arrival at my home. At Ali Kadal we separated. When I reached near the house of Bhans a band of Mohammedan Gundas came and attacked me and robbed of my coat, watch, and turban. When I reached home I saw the windows and the doors of my house broken. I dared not to enter my house and went into a neighbour's house. When I heard that the Military had come, I went to Maharajganj. My brother's wife and mother had fortunately escaped any trouble as they had gone to a relative early in the morning. I could not estimate the total loss at that time. I went out to Maharajganj and saw Thakur Kartar Singh Ji, and the Governor and the D. I. G. I. requested the officials to see my house. Thakur

Kartar Singh Ji took me in his car and ordered the D. I. G. to send some Policemen and Military with me so that I may recover my looted property. But the D. I. G. did not send any man. Next day I saw my house property and estimated the loss. The detail of our loss is as follows:—

	Rs.
1. Cash and Ornaments	... 175
2. Gabbas three	... 50
3. Three Blankets (Chaderies)	... 30
4. Degchi	... 6
5. Thalies five	... 20
Total	... 281

Besides the above the windows and doors were broken. A report about this was given to the A. S. P. at Maharajganj, on the following day, but I am at a loss to see that no steps have been taken so far by the A. S. P. Praying for your mercy.

EXHIBIT No. 114.

**Written Statement of Sham Lal Bazaz, Nalbandpura, Safakadal, Srinagar-Kashmir
(Witness No. 98), dated 14th Sawan 1988.**

I most humbly and respectfully beg to bring to your notice that my shop of Bazazi (cloth) where there were other things also, at Nalbandpura was looted on the 29th Har 1988. I reported the matter to the Police authorities and my statement was recorded once at Maharajganj Thana, and the 2nd time at Chhatabal. M. Abdul Aziz, Sub-Inspector Police recorded my 2nd statement. I requested him for the house search of certain rioters where I suspected that my looted property was lying and whom my servant had seen and named in the statement but he did not do so, and said that the Police was not allowed by the higher authorities to do so. This action of the Sub-Inspector of Police M. Abdul Aziz gave the persons who had looted my shop, sufficient time and opportunity to remove the looted property from their possession. Yesterday I was called for by Kh. Noor Shah, Magistrate, to Dewan Bagh and my servant and I narrated the whole occurrence to him. But he has not put on record the whole statement. The portion of my servant's statement that a few of the rioters whose name he had mentioned had abused some of their companions, who had saved the shop at the time of the first attack and had thus discouraged them from helping me at the time of a subsequent attack, and that this action had encouraged their other fellow neighbours for a 2nd attack. The Magistrate said that there was no necessity for these things to be recorded.

It is now 17th day of the riot, no house search of the rioters, has been made till now and the looted property has most probably been removed.

I therefore pray that suitable action be taken in the matter.

EXHIBIT No. 115.

Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Aziz Ahangar (Witness No. 99).

I beg to state that I was unwell and unable to get out of my bed on 14th July 1931 i. e., a day after the Jail incident. At about 7 p. m. some Military men accompanied by several Pandits forcibly entered my house and arrested me and my cousin. They tied us with my turban. Both of us were mercilessly belaboured and brought to the Police Chowki Baggyas. From there they took us to Maharajganj Police Station at about 9 o'clock in the evening. They searched us in the Thana. My watch and chain and a towel were taken away from me. One rupee and three annas were taken away from my cousin. Next day in the noon we were taken to Jail. We were badly treated at the times of meals. After nine days we were set free on bail. This is my statement which has been read over to me.

EXHIBIT No. 116.

Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Qadir Zaru, Wood-carver (Witness No. 100).

I beg to state that I was at my house on Tuesday the 14th of July 1931. In the evening I saw several Military men coming to my street headed by Pandit Samsar Chand Wazir, Pandit Mana Koul Baihro and one or two other Pandits. Samsar Chand pointed out my house to them and they immediately began to break the outer gate of the house with legs and rifles. I found myself in danger and got out from the back door of my house with my family members and took shelter in the house of a neighbour. The Military men and the Pandits entered the compound, broke open the outer door and occupied the house. After a while they went away and my brother and I returned to our house. We left our families in the neighbour's house for the night. I at once found out that they had broken my four boxes and a few boards and wood-carving articles. I found the following articles missing:—

1. 50 Russian Sovereigns.
2. 10 Currency notes of Rs. 100 each.
3. 8 Currency notes of Rs. 10 each.
4. Four rupees in cash.
5. One gold necklace.
6. Bar silver 200 Tolas.
7. One Loi.

I sent the following telegrams to His Highness and copies of the same to Foreign and Political Minister, Revenue Minister, Home Minister and the Superintendent of Police:—

Military accompanied by Pandits plundered my house, took property and cash worth Rs. 2,000, life in danger, pray mercy.

In reply to my telegrams I was called at Maharajganj and my statement was recorded. After that the Police Head-constable of Chowki Baggyas came to me and informed me that out of my looted property, only a blanket and some silver was recovered. I was asked to get back my recovered property and sign a receipt to the effect that

nothing else was missing. I replied that a receipt shall be given on my getting the whole of the property. The articles recovered are still with the Police.

EXHIBIT No. 117.

**Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Bakhtawar Khan, Constable
(Witness No. 101), dated 7th Bhadon 1988.**

On the 29th of Har 1988 at about 2-30 p. m. I heard a noise in the bazar and suspected that the coolies of the Shali Moharrir on the Ghat might have quarreled with one another. On hearing this I in the company of Jabbar Khan, constable, started atonce for the place of noise. Bala Koul with four other constables remained at Chowki. No sooner I arrived near the Post Office a huge mob of the Muslims also reached there. They had dead bodies on *charpoys* with them. They were saying loudly that their Muslim brothers had been killed without any fault.

A shop near the Post Office had been looted previous to my going there. The Post Master told me to save his life and the property of the Post Office. I guarded the Post Office and the neighbouring shops and saved them till the arrival of the Military force. I am not an eye-witness of the happenings of Maharajganj.

EXHIBIT No. 118.

**Statement of Mohammed Subhan, Sub-Postmaster Sri Ranbirganj P. O., Kashmir
(Witness No. 102).**

On 13th July 1931 at 14-15 hours a voice came from out-side the P. O. that Martial-law has begun and the people should close their shops. On hearing this all the shop-keepers in the vicinity of the P. O. commenced to lock up their shops and thus fled away. Some of the Pandit shop-keepers entered the Post Office and requested me to save them and took refuge in the Post Office. After some minutes four Muslim dead bodies were brought on couches in front of the Post Office alternately and were taken towards Ali Kadal. On their return they carried the dead bodies and reached on the turning lane near Badshah. Out of this mob about sixty men turned back to wards the P. O. and began to throw stones to the Post Office windows and its door immediately after. Some one shouted out it is Imperial Government Office must not be touched. Then they turned to loot two shops in the neighbourhood of the Post Office on one side, while on the other side two shops of Pandits were saved by a Muslim, Blanket-seller shopkeeper who was hidden in his own shop, who shouted that these were shops of Muslims of whom I heard on the third day that he too was arrested and handed over to the Military people by Khattris without injuring his property. All this occurred in about fifteen minutes. After this none was seen passing in front of the Post Office and this condition remained for about fifteen minutes, while immediately after interval of 15 minutes approximately a gang of Khattris, Sadhus and Pandits appeared and rushed on the Post Office verandah where they attacked two mail boatmen namely Gaffara, Rahmana who were thoroughly beaten and wounded and continued to catch a lot of innocent Muslim passing on the road, including the boatmen and boatwomen at Ghat, maliciously treating them and plundering their own property which was stored in the mid of the road—thus before my eyes hundreds of innocent Muslim people were mercilessly handled,

vigorously beaten, arrested and handed over to the Military who also took very blind action in arresting many innocent Muslims without proper vigilance or finding a fault with them and none of the looters was caught as they seemed to have escaped long before this occurrence, because no one was seen by me being arrested with the looted property in their possession. At the same time one Muslim was caught by 3 Pandits and one Khatri, and after handling him carefully they threw him on the floor, jumped on his breast and belly. They continued pressing and kicking him with their legs and beat him mercilessly. Soon after his beating was finished he was brought into the verandah of the Post Office and handed over to 4 soldiers. The poor Muslim after receiving his beating was lying on the floor with his glaring eyes and vomiting.

Instantly the Military cavalry appeared and passed in front of the Post Office. I jumped out and stopped the cavalry requesting Colonel Sutherland and Mr. Wakefield to very kindly protect the Government property in the Post Office and they acceded to my request supplying me with a State lorry for the conveyance of cash etc. I engaged the lorry putting in it cash and other documents and went to the Post Office, Srinagar, accompanied by the following Post Office staff and few Pandits who reported their inability to walk owing to their illness :—

Two Clerks.

Two Messengers.

One Packer.

Two Postmen of the H. P. O.

One Head Postman of the Head Post Office.

Two Boatmen.

Having delivered the cash and other documents at the Srinagar, Head Post Office, I returned home immediately. On reaching home I found, all my family members weeping, as they were informed by some one that I was shot dead by Khattris and the Military at Maharajganj.

EXHIBIT No. 119.

Written Statement of Dewan Dhanpat Rai, Additional Sessions Judge, Srinagar (Witness No. 104).

In compliance with orders communicated to me I beg to submit the following statement with regard to the steps which I propose for the restoration of the peace and harmony of the country :—

1. That no favouritism on communal or any other basis should be allowed to be a consideration in the matter of appointments and promotions in Government service.

2. That the policy of the Government should not be such as to infuse or spread the idea that a particular class or community of people forming His Highness' subjects is given preference as such over the other in matters of appointments and promotions in Government service.

3. Efficiency should be the sole criterion for selection of candidates for appointments in Government service. For effective and proper administration of the country efficiency should in no case be overlooked. Juniority should in no case be allowed to over-ride seniority except in very rare and exceptional circumstances where an incumbent of a post is found and proved to be incapable and inefficient. This salutary rule will

encourage efficiency and also serve as a check on favouritism which is the root cause of mal-administration and popular discontent.

4. It should be made well known to all that equal opportunities and facilities are being afforded to all classes and communities amongst His Highness' subjects for receiving training in diverse branches of education technical or otherwise.

5. The members of Municipal Committees and notified area committee as well as Government pensioners may be directed to keep a watch over the secret and other activities of undesirable nature of any person or body of persons in Municipal towns. In villages the Headmen, the Chowkidars, the Zaildars and the Jagirdars residing in their respective Jagirs, should similarly be held responsible for prevention of said activities. Delinquents should be severely dealt with.

6. Speeches having a tendency to create a gulf between different communities should be curbed with a strong hand and no time should be lost in upholding the dignity of law. But this suggestion should be made fully operative only when former amicable feelings have been fully restored and maintained for sometime.

7. All such literature should be proscribed within the boundaries of the State as might create or promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Highness' subjects, or create and promote feelings of disloyalty against the ruler. Nor should any paper disseminating poisonous matter be allowed a currency in the State.

8. No permission should in any case be granted to any person to hold any meeting in a public place as defined in Prevention of Seditious Meetings Regulation to discuss any matter which is likely to create disturbance of public peace and tranquillity, they should hold good so long as normal conditions are not restored, even after that grant of permission should be very much restricted.

9. No such matter be allowed to be discussed in religious places *i. e.*, mosques and temples, as though garbed as a religious sermon is exploited for disturbance of public peace and excitement of feelings. In such cases dignity of law should best be secured by prompt and strong measure. The feelings of illiterate people are much excited when such speeches are made in mosques and temples. The people being led to believe that they must follow the instructions of the speakers by blind faith as tenets of their respective religions.

10. All those authorities or State officials specially those entrusted with maintenance of peace and order who have been found and proved to be delinquent in past, may be properly dealt with and measures be taken to ensure that in future proper and timely precautions are to avert such a catastrophe as has been witnessed recently.

11. That the Police who are primarily responsible for the maintenance of peace and order should be made efficient to meet the requirements of any and every emergency at any time and it is also necessary in the interests of good Government to establish an efficient Criminal Intelligence Department such as is manned by very reliable and trustworthy officers.

12. The officers employed as Heads of Departments should be made to feel their responsibility and their work should not be allowed to be interfered with by any influence proceeding from their superiors or from any other quarter, unless it is absolutely essential to do so in the interests of good administration.

13. That directions be issued defining precisely and clearly the duties and responsibilities of every officer of the Government and a keen watch should be maintained over the work and conduct of such officers.

Any dereliction of duty should not be lightly passed over. This provision is proposed to guard against the lame excuses put forward generally by responsible officers to explain away their wrongs on the pretext that they did not know what their proper function was at a particular juncture.

EXHIBIT No. 120.

Written Statement of Mrs. G. Thakar Dass (Witness No. 105).

On 15th July 1931, I was at my house at 10 a. m. I heard some women weeping from Tashwan side. I looked out from the window of my house and saw a Kashmiri Muslim standing on the bridge. I asked him to enquire and let me know the case but he kept silent. Two or three men were coming from Tashawan side. They told me that a man had died a natural death and that the females of his house were weeping. My son asked my permission to go to school. No sooner he left the house, I heard a gun shot. I came down and saw that five Military men crossed the bridge from Tashawan side and took their stand between the shop of a baker and a butcher. Another man who was standing on the bridge also moved towards the Military men. They persued him and the man took to his heels. Thereupon a Military man opened fire and the man fell down on the ground. At that time a waterman coming out of Dr. Shivji's house was trying to cross the bridge and was fired at by the Military. The water-carrier fell down instantaneously. Another man coming from the road leading to Mr. Hedo's Factory was also shot down by the Military. The wounded man was reeling and the Military man fired a second shot causing his death. On this I asked the Military men under whose order they had fired shots in Nawa-bazar without any cause. I requested a passer-by who was going with a cycle in hand to phone to Military authorities regarding the incident in Nawa-bazar. I also requested him to inform the Military authorities that firing had taken place without reason. At about 11-30 a. m. the Military officers came to me and asked me to relate the whole story. Out of the three persons who were fired at, one died on the spot, and the remaining two were wounded and are still alive.

EXHIBIT No. 121.

Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Qutab Din, Constable No. 566 (Witness No. 106).

My written statement is given below :—

On 29th Har 1938/13th July 1931 at about 12 o'clock in the day, guard No. 3 was detailed to watch the inside of the Central Jail. I was deputed on beat No. 1 of the gate. A few minutes after, Sidda Beg Jamadar came out of the Jail and Ali Beg verbally reported to him that at the time of his relieving Sri Kanth, Gate-keeper, the hasp of the gate was found broken. The Jamadar told in reply that he was going out and that the matter should be reported to the Deputy Jailor. In the meantime the Deputy Jailor reached Deorhi and the Gate-keeper reported the matter to him. The Deputy Jailor answered that Mistri Shaban Ahangar had been ordered to repair the missing hasp. The Jamadar returned again after a short time. The Sessions Judge reached the Jail Gate at about one o'clock. A party of about 100 persons followed the car and entered the Jail compound. They cried loudly "Insaf Zindabad". The Sessions Judge then proceeded to the civil ward but came back to the Deorhi along with the Jailor. He

got the iron gate opened and went up in the office. The Jailor remained below near the gate. The D. S. P. and the Inspector of Police Pandit Maheshar Nath reached at about 1-30 p. m. Pandit Maheshar Nath telephoned to an unknown place. After him the D. S. P. also phoned. Maulvi Abdulla Vakil, Pir Qamar-ud-Din and another Mohammedan who had reached previous to the Sessions Judge addressed the people and asked them to go out and say their prayers in the garden. The people went out leaving only three or four persons behind. Subsequently at about 1-45 p. m. the District Magistrate and the D. I. G. arrived and the Police detachment also reached there. The shouts "Nara-i-Takbir", "Abdul Qadeer Zindabad", "Insaf Zindabad" were heard from outside and fire was opened. The first round was shot from inside the gate and the others from the right and left of it. Shortly after the fire, the people began to throw stones. Someone from above ordered to arrest the offenders. In compliance with this order some persons from outside and a few from the compound were arrested. They were all 25 or 30 in number. Shaban ironsmith fitted the hasp at about 3 o'clock. I was relieved at about 4 and returned to the lines with the guard. I found that my Pattu sheet and a Government *charpoy* had been taken away by some unknown man.

EXHIBIT No. 122.

Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Yusaf Shah, Head-constable No. 309 (Witness No. 107).

On 29th Har 1988/13th July 1931 at about 12 noon when Zenardan, Head-constable No. 30 and I reached the gate of the Jail, Siddah Beg, Jamadar was coming out of it. Ali Sheikh, Gate-keeper verbally reported that the hasp of the iron gate was found broken when he (Ali Sheikh) relieved Sri Kanth. In reply the Jamadar said that he was going out and that I should report the matter to the Deputy Jailor. In the meantime the Deputy Jailor coming out of the office reached Deohri. Ali Sheikh made the report to him. The Deputy Jailor said to him that he had already ordered Mistri Shaban Ahangar to repair the hasp. I saw one hasp of the gate missing and entered the Jail for a round. At about 4-30 p. m. I reached the Jail Police Lines with my guard No. 3. There I found that Government *charpoy*, my personal *loi* and a *gabha* were taken away by an unknown person.

EXHIBIT No. 123.

Written Statement of Nur-ud-Din Khan, Sub-Assistant Surgeon, City Dispensary Srinagar (Witness No. 108), dated 11th September 1931.

My observations regarding incidents of the 13th July 1931.

On the 13th July 1931, I left Saddar Hospital at 12-30 noon, and had to take my meals at my friend's house at Kani Kadal. There I remained upto 3-30 p. m. with the intention that I would go to my duty direct from there as I had to attend the State Hospital at 4 p. m. On my way to hospital, I was told by a passer-by that a large number of Mohammedans was shot dead at Jail and that he has heard much wailing in my home. On hearing this lamentable news I became nervous and hurry to my home. On reaching Ali Kadal I saw some shops having been vacated and refuse lying in the bazar, but no body was found passing. I reached my home and came to know that the news heard by me was false and that a close neighbour of mine namely Khaliq Shora was shot dead at the Central Jail. After a while a great noise (, ,) was heard from all around and so I closed all the doors and windows

of my house. After a few minutes the outer gate of my house was broken and I peeped some mounted guards with a large number of Kashmiri Pandits, Khattris and Sadhus in the outer compound of my house attempting to break down the door leading to my Malkhana (Zenana House) crying out:—

(یہ بڑا گہر ہے اسکو لوٹو آج مسلمانوں کا نام و نشان مٹالو)

Fortunately the door being strong enough they failed to break it down. On their not succeeding in this attempt they began to stone my house. The stoning lasted for about five minutes when they made their way to other houses in my neighbourhood. They entered the houses of Amir Kharadi, Mohammadoo Gilkar and Qadir Rah, dragged the owners of these houses, whom they could catch and arrested them with horrible beating. Towards the river side similar attack was made on the boatmen who reside in boats. The same treatment.....was.....made with them *i. e.* to say cruelly caned, dragged and then arrested. Their property was thrown into the river. Some of the boatmen were also thrown into the river and stoned from the banks of the river and the bridge but all of them being swimmers, swam down the river. I was shocked to see the treatment made by Kashmiri Pandits with the help of Military men with passers-by over the Ali Kadal Bridge. Here I saw Muslims being mercilessly beaten and arrested. This horrible scene continued for two days.

EXHIBIT No. 124.

Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Maulvi Noor-ud-Din Qari, Teacher of the Government High School, Srinagar (Witness No. 109).

I beg to state below the details of the treatment meted out to me on 29th Har 1988 *i. e.* on the day of the disturbance. After being relieved from the school I proceeded to my house in the company of Pandit Radha Kishan, Head Master, and a few other teachers. We separated at Zaina Kadal. Pandits took their way towards Zaina Kadal Bridge and Master Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Qazi and I walked towards our respective homes passing through Maharajganj and the Gadda Bazar. All the shops in the bazars were closed and not a single person was seen in the way. On arriving in the Badshah Sahib Bazar we separated from each other, Qazi Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din went in the house of Bandis and I started towards my house.

As soon as I arrived opposite to the shop of Ghulam Rasool, Book-seller, I noticed that one Shib Dass Mehra known as Guggu had caught hold of a Muslim boy 15 or 16 years in his legs and was giving severe blows in front of his stomach. The boy was silent, I asked Shib Dass what the poor boy had done. On hearing my voice he left the boy and ran towards me, saying that I had looted him. Upon this I turned back and ran away but he pursued me. A Kashmiri Pandit, Shop-keeper named Shiv Ram called upon me on the curve of the bazar and opening the door of his shop, caught my hand and gave me shelter. Shib Dass insisted and asked him to set me free so that he may kill me. He also said that I had looted him. Shiv Ram being my class fellow and familiar to me did not listen to him and went on saying that I was a school master and gentleman. Thereupon he went away and I remained in the same shop. After 15 or 16 minutes Pt. Shiv Ram called me and asked me to run away from the Post Office side as Shib Dass had gone away. I came down and saw that 5 or 6 Punjabi Hindus were standing around and the young boy was lying dead on the ground. I was extremely confused and ran towards the Post Office. Mohammed Subhan, Post Master, offered me a seat on

the chair and tried to satisfy me. Beside the Post Office employees a few Military men were also sitting there. I had hardly sat there, when a Khatri passed in front of us, who had got a long stick with an iron point in his hand. The Military men took away the stick and noted down his name in the Pocket Book.

After about an hour, the Post Master asked me to go home and on my request, directed his Postman Subhan Khan to accompany me. As we reached the end of the Tanki Sarai street near the shop of Amal Khan, a Military cavalry man stopped me enquiring the place from where I was coming, I replied that I was returning from the school. The Military man again enquired how much property I had looted, I assured him on my honor that I had nothing to do with the loot. Lastly he questioned whether I was a Hindu or a Mohammedan. At my reply that I was a Mohammedan the Military man seized me and began to drag me. My turban fell down and some one took it away. A Punjabi Hindu asked the Militaryman to hand me over to him. He caught hold of me and with the help of some other men including a Sadhu began to beat me. I was crying when I saw a student named Parmanand. I requested him to tell these persons that I was a school master. Quite against my expectation the student said that I was a scoundrel and used to go to Dr. Abdul Wahid's. They then took me to Bhagat Karam Chand. I requested to him to get me released but in vain. They dragged me to Maharajganj square where I saw many Punjabi Hindus armed with Lathies. One of them had a long iron weapon in his hand. I was taken out and saw many Mohammedans arrested and surrounded by the Military men. I was also kept there. Owing to headache I had not taken my meals that day. The above trouble added to my distress and I was in a fix. After sitting there a short while, I saw Khawaja Abdul Aziz Mantoo, his servant Akbar Shah, Abdulla Joo Kapra the traders of Maharajganj and other Mohammedans who had been arrested. All of them were wounded and bleeding. They were crying and lamenting. The Military men were beating them severely and abusing them and insulting their religion. We all listened to this patiently.

Many other innocent and oppressed Mohammedans were brought there after me including the boatmen of Maharajganj Ghat. Khawaja Ghulam Rasool Qazi and his brothers Abdul Rashid and Bashir Ahmad, traders of Maharajganj, were also brought there and beaten. They told me that their houses were broken into and they were brought out. Maulvi Ahsan Shah, teacher Babapur school, was also brought there in my presence. He sat by me. He was besmeared with blood. He is a resident of Sopore and has been transferred subsequently there. He told me that he was saying his prayer in the mosque when a Military man caught him and inflicted wounds on him with a bayonet. Master Abdul Aziz, teacher of Islamia High School Srinagar, Pirzada Kamal Din of Kadi Kadal and Yasin Sheikh of Nowshehra were also brought there one after another. I personally know the above named persons. The Military men snatched away every thing they could get from the arrested persons. Every thing except cash was stored there. In this sad plight not only the Punjabi Hindus and the Military men were beating and overwhelming us but the Kashmiri Pandits, Government servants and officers such as Pandit Bishamber Nath, Ward Officer of Ali Kadal, Pandit Sudarshan, Sub-Inspector and a young Pandit Compounder of Maharajganj were also assisting them.

To my utmost surprise, one Ram Chand Pandit, School master who accompanied me from the school, happened to arrive there with other spectators. His son pointed me out when he saw me. I paid him respects under the impression that he would get me released. But he addressed me harshly saying "scoundrel you joined loot while coming from the school". He also abused me and I was much ashamed. All others standing there also followed his example.

Finally we were taken to Shergarhi Police station lock-up which was unclean with only two mats on its floor of bricks. At about 9 p. m., the inmates got only 4 breads each to eat without any meat or vegetables and only three vessels of water were given. We suffered much trouble in the night and repented. The next day Qazi Abdul Rashid and I requested a Police officer who happened to come there, to keep us in the next room with our relatives. We were accommodated in that room, though it was smaller than the former. The total number of the inmates in this room was 18 or 20. Here we received three breads each and a small quantity of milk in three vessels. In the evening we got rice, but this addition was quite inadequate. In the lock-up we were put to great trouble *i. e.* we were not allowed to speak freely, none from outside was permitted to see us, and we were given permission to make water with great difficulty. On the other hand there were two Kashmiri Pandit prisoners in the same lock-up who were arrested in the hospital theft case many days before. They were allowed to walk freely in the Thana. The Pandit employees of the Thana used to invite them to tea etc. Only we the Mohammedans were put to trouble.

On the 3rd day at about 2 p. m. we were sent to Jail in closed lorries. There we were kept in the barracks of the Jail. We were under the impression that we shall undergo better treatment here but the result was from bad to worse. We suffered more trouble here than in the lock-up. We were disallowed by the Military men to open the windows and if we did so we were abused and threatened with guns. In spite of abundance of water in Kashmir we 41 prisoners were supplied with only three jars of drinking water from evening to 9 in the morning. This water we had also to use for cleaning utensils and for washing for prayers etc. We were not allowed to say our prayers jointly and were prevented from reciting our religious sayings and verses. We used to say our prayers without washing ourselves.

The fourth day was the sacred Friday, "Id" for Mohammedans, we said our prayers individually in the morning. After sunrise most of us felt thirsty and in spite of our repeated requests, we got water and meals after 9 a. m. When we finished our meals some of the Jail employees came in the barracks and asked us to give our statements before Khawaja Noor Shah and Mr. Thappa, S. P., accordingly we did so. After investigation and cross questioning only fifteen persons out of the party including Qazi Abdul Rashid, Ghulam Rasool and Kh. Abdul Aziz Mantoo were set free without bail and bond. After being released, three out of fifteen went direct to their respective homes. Abdul Rashid and I also proceeded to our houses. In the evening we heard that the remaining persons released along with us were again put into the Jail. Subsequently Qazi Ghulam Rasool and Abdul Aziz Mantoo were released on bail after nine days. Both of them were found reduced when I went to see them.

On the fifth day I went to school on my duty and from that day I have been attending my school. The order of my suspension was issued, but not carried out. I have received the pay of Har 1988 but the pay of Sawan has not been disbursed to me as yet.

EXHIBIT No. 125.

**Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Kh. Abdulla Joo Kapra, Shopkeeper
Maharajganj (Witness No. 110).**

I am a shopkeeper. My forefathers had been traders even before the existence of the Maharajganj market. I transact business of lacs of rupees annually. In addition to this I have two other shops

in Zena Kadal Bazar which are entrusted to my two sons. The shop occupied by me is known as Kothi Haji Mohammed Joo Abdulla Joo throughout the valley and in the Punjab. On Monday the 29th Har 1988/13th July 1931 when I was in my shop with my minor son Asadulla, I noticed that Pandit shop-keepers of Maharajganj closing their shops at about 2-30. There was no other shop opened except mine and of Pandit Sarvanand Koul, a neighbour of mine, but Pandit Sarvanand too returning from Yarabal told to his tenants to close their shops. They closed their shops on hearing this and I also did close mine. After this I walked to Grain market on the north. I heard a noise near the shop of Lala Lajpat Rai and saw some persons carrying 2 corpses on *charpoys*. The persons carrying dead bodies placed a wounded person before the gate of the Deorhi of Ganj in front of the Hospital for treatment of his wounds. The other dead body was taken towards the house of Khaliq Shora, which is situated near Maharajganj. After a while I saw Hindu youngmen equipped with Lathies coming out of the big gate of the Ganj. They began beating the Muslims who were carrying the *charpoys* and had assembled there. The Hindus also abused them. I was frightened and stealthily walked out through an inner door of the Ganj. I was going towards Zena Kadal for inspecting my shops there. Near Badshah in Bandi Kucha, I saw the mob returning from Maharajganj and were saying that Hindus and Pandits have severely beaten the Muslims and have threatened them with revolvers and pistols. I was bewildered to note all this and walked direct to my house *enroute* Saraf Kadal which route was safe and nearer than Zena Kadal. I consoled my children and remained at home uptill 4 o'clock. Pandit Sudershan Attar, a neighbour of mine, called upon me to go to see the shop at Maharajganj. On this I walked *via* Safa Kadal in the company of my 2 sons Ghulam Ahmad and Asadulla to see my shop at Maharajganj. I sat down in front of my shop and saw Ahdoo, grain-seller standing before his shop. When he saw me he came to my shop and sat besides me. In the meantime I found the Military coming. Ahdoo Hora expressed his wish to going for home, but I told him that we must first entrust our shops to the Military guard and then we would go. Military will look after our property. Bhagat Chuni Lal also expressed his agreement with my suggestion and we had not yet finished this discussion and the Military reached there. I with my sons and Ahdoo Hora went up in the first storey of the shop and closed all the doors below. Some time after this it was noticed that the Pandits and Hindus were flattering the Hindu Military soldiers. Muslims were seen dragged innocently from out of their houses situated all round Maharajganj. They were beaten and taken towards the south of Maharajganj. Shortly after this Bala Koul Khadyar came over there and began to abuse me, my father and forefathers. Some 15 minutes after knocking at the lower door was heard and consequently the door was broken. On hearing several persons ascending the stairs my minor son Asadulla and Ahdoo Hora concealed themselves in some place and I opened the door, and saw Pandit Bala Koul and Bhagat Hukam Chand with some 30 young Hindu and Pandits with Lathies in their hands rushing to my room. Bhagat Hukam Chand struck a *danda* on my head throwing away my turban. He pushed me down with vigor. I made several requests but to no purpose. On the other hand Bala Koul ordered his companions to loot. On this they severely belaboured my son and pushed him down. Both son and father were forcibly dragged and taken down to the road where Hindu Military soldiers gave us severe beating and pushed us on to a Military station in front of the shop of Balmokand. Some of the Military soldiers caught of my beard and pulled it so hard that a portion of it was taken off by them.

I noticed that Kh. Ghulam Rasul Haji and Abdul Aziz and other Mohammedans were put to much trouble and arrested. I also saw another boy Abdulla Joo weeping and crying with the complaint that

Bal Koul and Bhagat Duni Chand belaboured him and got him arrested. After 10 minutes I was put in a lorry. At that time Bhagat Hukam Chand, Duni Chand and Ladha Shah abused me a good deal on my requesting them that my shop may be locked. The Military people ordered that myself and my son should not be put in one lorry. We were to be kept separately in the Jail as well. Who had the power to vary the order passed by the Hindus. The Bhagats ruled the day. The lorries reached Thana Sher Ghari and as directed by Bhagats we were put in the Thana Sher Ghari lock-ups. My sons were kept separately. As directed by the Bhagats Kh. Ghulam Rasul and his brother a party of 18 men, were put in a room, which could hardly accommodate 8 men. At 11 o'clock in the night 4 peices of bread worth 9 pies were given to us ; we stayed there till Thursday. On the next day of arrest, when the Registrar came to take a roll call, Kh. Ghulam Rasul Qazi requested him that he should not be kept separately and that his sons should be asked to live with him. He did not care for his request. He also requested that his property may be looked after properly, but no action was taken on it. Every body can understand the trouble to which we were subjected. Only one earthen pot was put in the room for answering the call of nature and on account of the bad smell, which came out of it, it was difficult to pull on. We did not get any water to wash ourselves for prayer. Neither we were allowed to say prayer. On Thursday evening we were brought to the Central Jail and were put in a barrack. I heard some one weeping in the adjoining barrack and understood that my other son Ghulam Mohammed and a guest of ours Asad Mir have also been brought to the Jail without our knowledge. This son of mine is half mad and this fact is known to all Bhagats who got him arrested. I used to keep 4 keys of my shop in my pocket but that day on account of the trouble given to me by Bal Koul and Bhagat Hukam Chand, I had only two in my pocket. These two keys and the money I had in my pocket, were taken away by the Jail guard. Out of the difficulties which I experienced in Jail, a few are as under :—

We were not supplied sufficient water for washing our hands and face although other prisoners were given 4 times as much water as we were supplied. We were not allowed to say our prayers. We were not allowed to open the windows of both the sides and receive fresh air and light. There used to be electric light at night. The Hindu officials of the Jail used to give us as much trouble as possible and the Pandits used to insult our religion. On the day of the identification parade, when we were put in among others, the Hindu Khattris of the Maharajganj used to whisper some thing against us in the ears of the Jail officials. The culprits of Maharajganj riots and of places like Nowshehra and Vicharnag were mixed together, hence it was difficult for the Bhagats to recognise and pick out the culprits. To remove this difficulty, it was ordered that all other culprits except that of Maharajganj should stand aloof. Thus it was made easy to identify the accused who were to be identified. I enquired from Pt. Karam Chand if he had any information regarding my shop, which was left unlocked. He said that he had deposited all my goods in the 1st storey of the shop. He also said to Kh. Ghulam Rasul, that he took care of his property as well. Pandit Amir Chand identified me. This was due to his enmity towards me otherwise none could identify me and my son Ghulam Mohammed.

One day Kh. Noor Shah and Mr. Thappa visited the Jail and I requested them to take care of my shop which was left unlocked by me. On ^{7th Sawan 1988} _{23rd July 1931} my son Ghulam Mohammed, our guest and myself were bailed out by our furnishing a bond of Rs. 500 each. On my coming out my two keys and the money taken out of my pocket, were restored to me. Abdul Ahad got a watch worth Rs. 2 in place of his watch of Rs. 25. Ghulam Mohammed was asked to adduce evidence with regard to the worth of the watch. On the following day I asked my youngest son

Asadulla regarding the condition of my shop and also the way in which he escaped the arrest. He said that he was so well concealed as none could find him out. He also told me that Bala Koul and other Hindu Khatris were throwing off my property in the street. But at the instance of B. Karam Chand, some was safely carried to the 1st storey of the shop. He also said that on hearing Karam Chand's voice, he ran to him and told him the whole story. Bhagat Karam Chand consoled him and assured him that no harm shall be done. I applied to the Governor through Maulvi Mohammed Yusaf, Mir Waiz and Kh. Saad-ud-Din Shawl regarding the loss I had suffered. I also requested them to send a man who could help me to open my shop. I also reported to the Police and to the Magistrate on duty regarding the loss I had suffered. The Magistrate inspected the spot and ordered me to open the shop and directed me to furnish an inventory of the goods lost or damaged. He also inspected the damaged condition of the property restored to us by the help of Bhagat Karam Chand. On ^{29th Har 1988}_{13th July 1931} I closed my shop. The day on which

I opened I found that property worth twenty two thousand is lost. So far no action has been taken to restore the goods to me. The Judge did not record my full statement and directed that I should approach the Commission. Apart of my property, cloth etc., was recovered from the house of a Pandit Raja Ram but he was neither apprehended, nor any proceedings were taken against him. On the contrary, if, a Mohammedan were ever suspected by a Hindu, he was atonce arrested and was even proceeded exparte. The Hindus did all this to injure the Mohammedans. They brought many complaints and got them summoned in various Thanas to blame them, somehow or other. The Hindus were helped and if any stolen goods were recovered from Hindus, they were not held responsible, nor they were called upon to furnish bail. In order to entangle the Mohammedans the Hindus brought their own goods from their own houses and giving it up as a stolen property, got the Mohammedans arrested. Their real intention was to give up the Mohammedans as suspects and in case they could succeed, they were sure that none would listen to the Mohammedans. The Khatris of Maharajganj took special interest in getting the Mohammedans entangled. They intended that by doing this, the truth shall not come out and nobody would be able to find out the hardships undergone by the Mohammedans. The respectable traders like Kh. Ghulam Rasul Qazi, Abdul Aziz Mantoo, Abdulla Joo Bassoo, who deal in business of lacs of rupees, were put to all sort of troubles to achieve the above object. They wanted to ruin them by entangling them in different cases. I beg to give below an example to illustrate what I have said above:—

It is a common practice that whatever goods are purchased from Maharajganj, are carried in the boats, to different villages. On ^{29th Har 1988}_{13th July 1931} as usual, many Hindu and Mohammedan traders had bought goods from Maharajganj and had carried them to the river in boats. Some of them intended to take the goods to Bandipura. On the above date the Hindus and Khatris got the boatmen arrested by the Military for possessing those goods. The Hindus thinking that the goods in the boats belong to Mohammedan traders looted it entirely and took possession of the cash which the boatmen had. The following traders had their goods in the boats:—

1. Kh. Haji Mohammed Joo, Paran of Bandipura.
2. Kh. Mohd Sheikh, Shop-keeper of Bandipura.
3. Kh. Noor Joo, Bachh of Bandipura.
4. Bhai Baldev Singh, Shop-keeper of Bandipura.

Out of the above shop-keepers Baldev Singh Hindu trader got back his goods and carried it to his shop at Bandipura but the Mohammedan

traders never got back their property. The Mohammedan gave many applications but to no effect. As a result of these applications Mohad Joo, shop-keeper got back some goods and Mohammed Sheikh shop-keeper got back only 53 pieces of cloth costing Rs. 472 which he had bought from my shop on 24th Har 1988.
8th July 1931.

Purchased some other sort of cloth from other shops which were in all 53 pieces and out of them only 13 were recovered. No attention was paid to the innumerable applications tendered by them. The investigating officers did not care to find out the real culprits and did not conclude that Khatris were at fault. When a part of the goods in the boats was safely carried to Bandipur, it is strange that no body cared to keep the other part secure. The Khatris have turned complainants and have alleged the boatmen to be culprits. The boatmen were put to many troubles and were put in the Jail for many days. Sir, you can judge, would those people try to throw off their own blame or to accuse others of their crimes.

Sir, damages like the one narrated above, have been caused by the Hindus to the Mohammedans. For example my neighbour Ahad Haroo, corn merchant, took away many bags of corn from my shop and has not been apprehended inspite of my putting in many applications.

Ghulam Rasul, watch-maker, Qadir Batu, Corn merchant, Ramzan, Shop-keeper, Kh. Abdulla Joo Bassoo, Habib Joo Aga and Qadir Khan have suffered losses and have been caught as culprits. They have been entangled in different cases so that they may not be able to accuse any Hindus for their losses.

Your Lordship is just. I hope you will consider the above fact and do justice to my cause. The facts can be verified by summoning Kh. Mohammed Sheikh and Mohammed Ghuffar and Mohammed Sheikh Pattu Farosh of Badshah Sahib.

EXHIBIT No. 126.

Translation of the Vernacular Statement of Mirza Nur-ud-Din (Witness No. 111).

I am a College student. I was sitting in my house situated in Karfali Mohalla at half past nine when I heard some one weeping from outside. I went out of the window and found that three men were brought on 3 *charpoys*. Seeing this all Mohalla people started crying. After a short time 9 or 10 Military people posted near the Mohalla came on the scene. On enquiry it turned out that they were invited there by some Pandits and Hindu inhabitants of that Mohalla. They stayed there for half an hour. The Pandits alleged that they have been looted by the Mohammedans. It were the Pandits who misrepresented to the Military regarding the loot and caught hold of a certain blind and sick man named Ramzan Sheikh and carried him to Shergarhi Thana. All Mohalla people are acquainted with this story. Regarding this matter they gave many petitions to the authorities but so far nothing has come out of them. None has come to investigate the matter. On the other day at about half past ten in the night I had gone to sleep when I heard the Pandits raising a cry of Nara-i-Takbir. They also said that they were looted by the Mohammedans and that the Mohammedans were setting fire to their property. Hearing this the Military and many other people reached there but had to return when they found that the alarm was fictitious. On this the Military scolded the Pandits—This incident too was reported to the authorities but no action was taken by them.

EXHIBIT No. 127.

Translation of the Written Statement of Mohammed Maqbul (Witness No. 112).

I am a trader. Our Kothi named Haji Ghuffar Joo Khawaja Ghulam Mohammed Lassoo has been doing business in Maharajganj from the last 60 years. We transact business of lacs of rupees in a year.

My father Kh. Abdulla Joo Gussoo the owner of the Kothi was in his house from 23rd Har 1988/7th July 1931 to 30th Har 1988/14th July 1931 on account of his illness.

On 29th Har 1988/13th July 1931, I was on my shop in Maharajganj. At half past two, two *charpoy*s of the wounded were brought by Mohammedans in Maharajganj. The Hindus attacked them with Lathies and started beating them with the result that many people took to their heels. Among the mob there was one Khaliq Shora of Mohalla Ganiatmans and another wounded who were breathing and were brought to the hospital for treatment. But on account of the Hindu attack they were thrown on the road opposite to the hospital. There was one solitary woman left near the wounded on account of the Hindu attack. I closed the shop and went away to my house. I noticed from my house that the Hindus, with the help of the Military were arresting the Mohammedans and were dragging them out of their houses for the arrest. On account of this fear I did not stir out of my house.

Next day Hindus, Pandits and Khattris came with Military men to our house. Bhagat Hukam Chand, Bhagat Kishan Chand, Bala Koul Khudwali, Permanand Bhagat, Karam Chand Amritsari, Dina Nath, Maheshar Koul Tiploo, were also in the party. Our house was surrounded from outside by Pandits and other Khattris. My uncle, his daughter, my brother, servant and sick father and four other guests of the house were put to arrest. They removed property worth 10,000 rupees from the house even without caring for the *purdah-nashin* ladies. We were belaboured and carried to Maharajganj where three of our guests were set at liberty. Out of the 3 guests Khawaja Mohammed Joo is a famous shop-keeper of Bandipura. His property was looted from the boat of Ghuffar Mala Hanji. Some of his property was given back to him. The rest of the property has not been restored to him in spite of his repeated applications to the authorities. He had bought the goods from Maharajganj and intended to take them to Bandipura. The rest of the party arrested numbered 7 out of which one was a College student. We were asked to remain exposed to sun all the day long in Maharajganj. The Pandits and Khattris gave us all sorts of troubles. On the same day Dr. Abdul Wahid was brought in the Ganj by Pandits and Khattris and was belaboured by them. Dr. Abdul Wahid was in a precarious condition at that time. The Judges who were present at the shop of Bhagat Sukh Dial Amir Chand took pity on him and tried to give him water and restored him to consciousness. Afterward he was removed from that place. In the evening we were removed to Thana Maharajganj. At the time of our starting in the lorry Bhagat Duni Chand troubled us the most. He also directed the Military to give us as much trouble as possible. We were kept in the Thana for the night and then were carried to the Central Jail. We were put to a good deal of trouble both at Thana and Central Jail. On coming out of the Jail we applied to the Police for the redress of our wrongs but no action was taken.

Sir, do justice. Those Khattris who have tried to blame us and bring criminal charges against us and have called us *badmash* and *gundas* are entirely wrong and dishonest. They want to subdue us—noble traders such as Kh. Abdul Aziz Mantoo, Kh. Ghulam Rasul Qazi,

Kh. Abdulla Joo Kapra and Kh. Abdulla Joo Lasso. They want to disgrace us, so that they might gain at our expenses and do business unhampered by us. They want us that we should be afraid of them and remain obedient to them. They have alleged our children to be culprits. They have made our school-going children to be accused in the cases although the children were away to their respective schools. Your Honour can imagine that how can we be culprits when we deal with these Khattris and carry on a trade of thousands of rupees. If they really think we are culprits how can they have business relation with us. They want to lower the Mohammedans in the eyes of the authorities, but continue their dealings with them.

EXHIBIT No. 128.

Written Statement of Mufti Jalal-ud Din, Secretary of Muslim Representatives.

I beg to enclose herewith a list of witnesses who, I think, if called, enlighten you about the facts concerning the sad happenings of 13th July and after.

Unfortunately the Muslim community has decided to stand aloof and has not educed any evidence so far, but this does not absolve the community from making a strenuous effort to arrive at the truth and get every body who may be in possession of facts examined by the Committee. In any case, the Committee, if it is to submit an impartial report, must give a patient listening to the version of other side.

Witnesses regarding Maharajganj loot case.

M. Noor-ud Din Qari, Arabic Teacher, Government High School, Srinagar.

Master Abdul Aziz, Islamia High School, Srinagar.

Dr. Noor Din, State Hospital Maharajganj.

Mohammed Subhan, Post Office Maharajganj.

Qazi Ghulam Rasool, Wholesale Dealer Maharajganj.

Kh. Abdul Aziz Mantoo ,, ,, ,,

Kh. Abdullah Joo Kapra ,, ,, ,,

Kh. Abdullah Joo Basu ,, ,, ,,

Kh. Samad Sheikh Maharajganj.

Witnesses regarding Jail riot case.

Mohammed Yahya Rafiqi, Fateh Kadal and other 31 prisoners.

Qazi Gula Sahib, Chattabal.

Sultan Khan and other neighbours of Jail Quarters.

Qutub Din, constable.

Yusuf Shah ,, No. 309.

Ghulam Mohammed, constable (residence Batmaloo Sahib).

Asad But, Barkandaz (Jail Quarters.)

Witness regarding Nawa-bazar case.

Mrs. Thakar Das.

O R D E R.

The recording of evidence has been virtually completed. The Commission will summon the constables Qutub Din and Yusuf Shah who would not come without summoning. The Commission does not desire to examine persons actually charged with committing riot. In the nature of things they will not give a correct version but will put forward their own story. As regards Asad But reason has been given on the record for not summoning him. Mr. Mohammed Subhan, Post Master, we have already examined and we propose to examine Mrs. Thakar Das or at least we have requested her to appear tomorrow to give evidence. There remain—

Noor-ud-Din Qari,
 Abdul Aziz,
 Qazi Ghulam Rasool,
 Kh. Abdul Aziz Mantoo,
 Kh. Abdullah Joo Kapra,
 Kh. Abdullah Joo Basu,
 Kh. Samad Sheikh,
 Mohammed Yahya Rafiqi,
 Qazi Gula Sahib,
 Sultan Khan,
 and Ghulam Mohammed.

The witness Mufti Jalal-ud-Din is requested to go round to them and obtain their written statements. All or any of the above whom he will produce before us tomorrow and the day after will be examined by the Commission. Mr. Sharma will request the authorities concerned to send to Court Qutub Din, Constable and Yusuf, Shah Constable for examination and if possible with their written statements. They must appear tomorrow. Mr. Sharma will also request Dr. Noor Din of State Hospital Maharajganj to appear before the Commission tomorrow with his written statement.

EXHIBIT No. 129.

Copy of a letter No. 1035, dated 12th September 1931 from Dr. A. Vosper, Superintendent Mission Hospital, Srinagar, to the Secretary Riots Enquiry Commission, Srinagar.

With reference to your letter No. 297 dated 21st August 1931, received by me yesterday, I have the honor to send herewith a list of dead bodies examined by me at Juma Masjid, giving their addresses and details of wounds.

Name and addresses and description of wounds of bodies examined in Juma Masjid on the morning of Tuesday the 14th July 1931.

No.	Name.	Address.	Description of wounds.
1	Ahmad But son of Qadir But	Fateh Kadal ..	One wound on the root of neck. Blood from month.
2	Usman But son of Rahman But	Kalashpura ..	Many shot wounds right side chest and right side head.
3	Mohammed Halwai son of Rahman Halwai.	Near Juma Masjid	Shot wounds in the right eye and to left of nose and 2 shot wounds of left leg.
4	Akhbar Mohammed son of Faqir Mohammed.	Nawa-bazar ..	2 shot wounds chest, 1 shot wound left collar bone, 1 left arm.
5	Ahmad Mir son of Mohammed Mir.	Gojwara ..	1 shot wound chest over aorata, 1 left side chest.
6	Ghulam Nabi Kotwal son of Abdulla Kotwal.	Pandan ..	2 shot wounds left side abdomen.
7	Ghulam Mohammed Naqash son of Sultan Mohammed Naqash.	Qaid Kadal ..	2 shot wounds left side chest, 1 shot wound left forearm.
8	Rasool Dora son of Ali Dora ..	Amda Kadal ..	3 shot wounds in right shoulder, 1 outer side right arm, 2 left side face, 1 mid line on root of neck in front.
9	Amir Makai son of Rasool Makai	Nawa Kadal ..	Large lacerated wound at root of penis below. Said to have been shot at night on a city road.
10	Shaban Makai son of Rahman Makai.	.....	2 wounds left side chest, probably shot wounds.
11	Khafiq Shora son of Samdo Shora.	Sona Masjid ..	4 shot wounds left side of chest.

EXHIBIT No. 130.

Copy of a D. O. letter No. 11444/68-Esa., dated Srinagar, the 14th September 1931, from the Director of Medical Services to the President, Riots Enquiry Commission, Srinagar.

Kindly refer to your letter No. 408, dated 12th September 1931, regarding Mrs. Thakur Das reported to be a private practitioner near Nawa-bazar Bridge.

One Mrs. Thakur Das was in the D. J. Zenana Hospital Srinagar. She resigned because she was not qualified for the post to which she was appointed in an officiating arrangement and because she did not like to work in her substantive post when a properly qualified lady was appointed to the post which she had held temporarily.

EXHIBIT No. 131.

Copy of a D. O. letter dated 12th September 1931 from R. O. Sutherland to the President, Riots Enquiry Commission, Srinagar.

Reference your D. O. 409, dated 12th September 1931.

My answers to your two enquires are :—

1. No cavalry men carried rifles on the 13th to 16th July or subsequently.
2. The above answers your second enquiry. The cavalry have no bayonets.

EXHIBIT No. 132.

Statements received with Director of Educations' endorsement No. 8187, dated 18th September 1931.

Abstract statement showing increase and decrease in Compulsory Education Srinagar from 1st Baisakh 1987 to the end of Sawan 1988.

No.	Attendance committies with the name of wards.	No. of Government and aided schools in each committee.	No. of boys secured in schools to the end of chet 1987.	Expected No. of boys for new admission during the year 1988 as per Education Census of Chet 1987.	No. of boys on rolls to the end of Sawan 1988.	No. of new admissions from the expected No.	No. of leakages in the schools from 1st Baisakh 1987 to the end of Sawan 1988.	Attendance Officer in charge.
1	Committee No. 1.							
	1. Raniawari Ward	31	2,524	1,441	3,221	697*	334	M. Gulam Rasul.
	2. Amira Kadal ..							
	3. Haba Kadal ..							
	4. Kani Kadal ..							
2	Committee No. 2.							
	1. Zena Kadal ..	37	3,400	2,566	3,236	—164†	1,156	P. Sat Ram Muzu.
	2. M. R. Ganj Ward							
	3. Chattabal ..							
	4. Zadibal ..							
	Total ..	68	5,924	4,007	6,457	....	1,590	

Submitted in original to the Town Inspector of Schools, Srinagar, for favour of necessary action. This is with reference to his office No. 8995, dated 9th September 1931.

* Increase 668. Decrease 29
† " 252 " 416

(Sd.) GULAM RASUL,
ATTENDANCE OFFICER,
Srinagar.

*Statement showing increase and decrease in Compulsory Education,
Srinagar, in the 1st four wards of Srinagar from Baisakh 1987
to the end of Sawan 1988.*

Serial No.	Name of schools.	No. of boys on rolls from 1st Baisakh 1987 to the end of Chet 1987.	No. of boys on rolls to the end of Sawan 1988.	Increase.	Decrease.	Net leak- ages from 1st Baisakh to the end of Sawan 1988.
1	Kathi Darwaza School ..	80	84	4	....	16
2	Bazi Jagilanker ..	55	59	4	....	4
3	Kralyar School ..	122	149	27	....	13
4	Hari Singh Primary School ..	38	30	....	8	11
5	C. M. Rainawari ..	61	103	42	....	16
6	Islamia Rainawari ..	70	79	9	....	4
7	Buchhiwara ..	84	92	8	....	2
8	Drugajan ..	94	99	5	....	13
9	Maisuma School ..	149	159	10	....	39
10	Ram Bagh ..	75	75	....	....	8
11	Shahid Ganj ..	107	113	6	....	2
12	Batamalu School ..	87	152	65	....	15
13	Islamia Drugajan ..	61	74	13	....	12
14	C. M. Amira Kadal ..	131	154	23	....	10
15	Islamia Amira Kadal ..	68	66	....	2	7
16	Maktab Shergarhi ..	64	45	....	19	15
17	Government Model School ..	98	155	57	....	3
18	S. P. Middle School ..	96	129	33	....	6
19	Bana Mohalla ..	116	131	15	....	16
20	Babapura Middle ..	75	122	47	....	14
21	Imamia Babapura ..	33	34	1	....	2
22	Ganesh Ghat School ..	96	119	23	....	23
23	Sathoo School ..	102	142	40	....	32
24	Manawarabad ..	73	79	6	....	20
25	Gand Audir ..	99	115	16	....	12
26	Noopora School ..	112	136	24	....	3
27	Hindu School Haba Kadal ..	21	22	1	....	....
28	C. M. Lower Fateh Kadal ..	35	96	61	....	1
29	R. N. Mander Middle ..	115	179	64	....	5

Serial No.	Name of schools.	No. of boys on rolls from 1st Baisakh 1987 to the end of Chet 1987.	No. of boys on rolls to the end of Sawan 1988.	Increase.	Decrease.	Net leak-ages from 1st Baisakh to the end of Sawan 1988.
30	C. M. Haba Kadal ..	72	90	18	....	....
31	Tankipora School ..	83	119	36	....	22
	Total ..	2,524	3,221	697	29	334

(Sd.) GULAM RASOOL,

ATTENDANCE OFFICER,

Srinagar.

Statement showing increase and decrease in Compulsory Education, Srinagar, in the 2nd four Wards of Srinagar from Baisakh 1987 to the end of Sawan 1988.

Serial No.	Name of school.	No. of boys on rolls from 1st Baisakh 1987 to the end of Chet 1987.	No. of boys on rolls to the end of Sawan 1988.	Increase.	Decrease.	Net leak-ages from 1st Baisakh 1987 to the end of Sawan 1988.
1	Naid Kadal School ..	117	116	....	1	46
2	Kailashpura ..	109	115	6	....	48
3	Nowhatta ..	167	204	37	....	71
4	Khanayar ..	127	71	....	56	52
5	Bhuri Kadal ..	167	117	....	50	24
6	Islamia High Lower ..	139	78	....	61	87
7	Khankah Mualla ..	60	42	....	18	43
8	Maktab Aqil Mir ..	65	60	....	5	7
9	Maktab Mir Masjid ..	40	24	....	16	12
10	Maktab Doompura ..	34	24	....	10	4
11	Maktab Kamangarpura ..	36	38	2	....	21
12	Ganiatmanz ..	91	105	14	....	25
13	Rangteng ..	148	99	....	49	12

Serial No.	Name of school.	No. of boys on rolls from 1st Baisakh 1987 to the end of Chet 1987.	No. of boys on rolls to the end of Sawan 1988.	Increase.	Decrease.	Net leak-ages from 1st Baisakh 1987 to the end of Sawan 1988.
14	Kowdara ..	103	108	5	....	12
15	Rathapora ..	170	173	3	....	30
16	Anjaman-ahli-hadis ..	73	86	13	....	68
17	Akhawat-ul-Islam ..	75	57	....	18	7
18	C. M. Nawa Kadal ..	31	58	27	....	8
19	Maktab Tanki Sarai ..	32	27	....	5	5
20	Maktab Kanil Masjid ..	28	20	....	8	3
21	Pather Masjid ..	190	202	12	....	56
22	Gurgari Mohalla ..	142	78	....	64	28
23	Ganzi Khud ..	94	88	....	6	44
24	Shergarhi Mohalla ..	119	119	....	....	35
25	Kaka Sathoo ..	91	90	....	1	33
26	Chattabal ..	87	100	13	....	27
27	Islamia Tashawan ..	85	63	....	22	21
28	Islamia Safa Kadal ..	48	97	49	....	26
29	Maktab Nawa-bazar ..	43	51	8	....	9
30	Ragori Kadal ..	103	118	15	....	52
31	Kagazgari Mohalla ..	90	90	....	....	6
32	Sowra ..	82	88	6	....	5
33	Bagwanpura ..	93	98	5	....	9
34	Narwara ..	123	129	6	....	79
35	Vicharnag ..	15	18	3	....	1
36	Islamia Nowshehra ..	54	82	28	....	27
37	Imamia Zadibal ..	129	102	....	27	113
	Total ..	3,400	3,236	252	416	1,156

(Sd.) GULAM RASOOL,

ATTENDANCE OFFICER,

Srinagar.

EXHIBIT No. 133.

Copy of a letter No. 8183, dated 18th September 1931, from the Director of Education, to the Secretary Riots Enquiry Commission, Srinagar.

I have the honour to state that orphanage scholarships are granted to Muslim students on exactly the same terms as to other communities in all Government schools. In addition, a special annual grant of Rs. 480 is given for this purpose to Akbar Islamia High School, Jammu.

EXHIBIT No. 134.

Copy of a letter No. 7165/E-313, dated 27th August 1931, from the Director, Food Control Department, Srinagar, to the Chairman, Riots Enquiry Commission, Srinagar.

Management & working of the Kashmir Valley Food Control Department.

I have the honour to refer to a letter No. 249/D. O., dated 14th August 1931, received by me from the Secretary to the Riots Enquiry Commission asking for a short account of the management of the Kashmir Valley Food Control Department and certain details connected with the working of the Department.

2. In compliance with your request I attach herewith the following :—

- (a) Budget Estimates for the last two years, viz. for 1986-87 and 1987-88.
- (b) Balance Sheet showing the result of working for 1986-87.
- (c) Balance Sheet for 1987-88 up to the end of Sawan 1988 that is to say a period ending only some ten days ago.
- (d) A statement showing the composition of the staff
 - (i) As it stood on 1st Katik 1979 ;
 - (ii) As it stands today.
- (e) Statement showing last ten appointments made
 - (i) Excluding menials showing Hindus and Mohammedans separately;
 - (ii) Including menials showing Hindus and Mohammedans separately.

3. (a) Before discussing the statements submitted I will give a short account of the Department, its objects and activities. To give you further details of the organisation I send herewith copy of "A Note on Grain Control in Kashmir" which was specially written by me for the information of the Indian States Committee (Harcourt Butler Commission). This note was submitted for approval before it was printed.

(b) The Kashmir Valley Food Control Department now operates directly under the orders of one of the Ministers of His Highness' Government. The portfolio is at present held by the Minister for Revenue and Agriculture. From the creation of the organisation to

the accession to the *gaddi* of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir in 1925 a Board of Control directed the activities of the Department. This Board consisted of:—

General Raja Sir Harisingh	... Senior Member of Council and Heir-Apparent.
Major General Janak Singh	... Revenue Member of Council.
B. J. Glancy Esquire, I. C. S.	... Government of India Political Department (Lent).

When His Highness succeeded to the *gaddi* the Department was placed under the direct control of the Finance Minister of His Highness' Government and this arrangement continued till the spring of 1930.

The Finance Minister in control was B. J. Glancy Esquire up to April 1926 and Lala Tulsi Ram from then till March 1930. At this latter date the Department was placed under the Revenue Minister, Major Dube from March 1930 till June 1931 and since then Major General Thakur Janak Singh Ji Bahadur.

(c) The chief administrative and executive officer of the Department is the Manager or Director a post I have held since July 20th, 1922.

(d) The object of the organisation is not to make profits but to stabilise the price of food grains, more particularly the price of Shali (unhusked rice). From its inception it has been the policy to use such profits as it may make for the furtherance of the scheme itself in such manner as may be considered by Government to be most suitable. It has been the frequently expressed policy of Government not to take profit from the working of the Grain Control Scheme.

(d) The activities of the Department are divided into four sections:—

- (i) *Collection and Distribution*.—For the collection, storage, issue and handling of grain.
- (ii) *Transport*.—For the transportation of grain from Mufassil Ghats to Srinagar and distribution in the city.
- (iii) *Accounts*.—For the correct and prompt accounting of all transactions both in cash and kind.
- (iv) *General (Control)*.—For the control and co-ordination of all activities of the Department.

All matters of policy and all important changes in procedure have always been referred to the Controlling authority, *i. e.* the Board of Control till the autumn of 1925 and thereafter to the Minister of His Highness' Government holding the portfolio for the Department.

4. The regulation of prices is achieved, with a measure of success varying according to the circumstances obtaining from time to time, by the purchase of a large amount of Shali at fixed prices and by the sale of this grain at fixed issue prices in the Srinagar Municipal area, the largest centre in the country.

Even and fair distribution is ensured by the preparation and issue of ration tickets (coupons) to the head of every family or unit permanently resident in the Srinagar Municipal area. The issue of Shali at a fixed price per Khirwar to every permanent Indian resident of the Srinagar Municipal area, who takes the trouble to get registered and obtain a ration ticket, has the effect of controlling and limiting rises in the market; as the Srinagar market is the largest, this control has repercus-

sions over the whole of Kashmir. Another factor in the control of prices through out the valley is the fixed rate paid to the producer as this operates to prevent the producer's price from falling much below that paid by this Department except in cases where special circumstances may obtain.

As Shali is the staple food of the people of Kashmir the fact that fluctuations in the rate for this grain are controlled and limited is calculated to have an influence on the price of other food grains.

5. (a) The average price paid to the producer for Shali at Mufassil collecting centres is Rs. 3-12-0 per Khirwar (170 lbs) Shali. The maximum price at any collecting centre is Rs. 3-15-0. The minimum price is Rs. 3-10-6. These prices have remained constant since the organisation was started in 1921.

(b) Shali is sold at Rs. 5 per Khirwar. In the first year of operations the collection and disposal of grain was managed by Co-operative Agency. This organisation was the Srinagar Co-operative Stores, on the foundations of which the present organisation was established when the working of the original agency was found to be defective. In the beginning the sale price to shareholders was Rs. 5 per Khirwar and to non-shareholders Rs. 5-8-0 per Khirwar. Share money was returned to shareholders in 1922 (1979) together with a dividend at the rate of 12½ per cent. per annum and compensation for the loss of advantages membership conferred on them. From 1st Katik 1979, the date from which the Co-operative element of control ceased to exist, Shali has been sold at a uniform rate to all ration ticket-holders at Rs. 5 per Khirwar.

6. (a) Expenses are shown in the budget estimates referred to in para. 2 of this note.

As remarked in para. (3) (d) Government makes no profit out of the Department's operations. Such profit as is made remains with the accumulated funds of the organisation. Such funds have been used from time to time in the past to the benefit of the producer and the consumer and in building up reserves. The position as it stood at the end of the last financial year, 31st Assuj 1987, is shown in the balance sheet (attached) for the year 1986-87. The position today is shown in the balance sheet as at the end of Sawan 1988 (attached).

(b) Money spent to the benefit of the consumer and producer includes the following :—

	Rs.
(i) Construction of Badgam Road ...	53,857
(ii) Loss incurred by disposal of submerged Shali at reduced rates after the floods, 1928 ...	21,686
(iii) Loss of income borne by this Department on issues of Shali to flood sufferers in Pulwama Tehsil after the floods, 1929 ...	2,287
(iv) Loss of income borne by this Department on issues of Shali to fire sufferers in Salura village, Tehsil Khas in 1931 ...	100
(v) Construction of City Ghats through the Srinagar Municipality ...	27,122
(vi) Improvement of the Main Bazar in the Anantnag town ...	3,392
(vii) Improvement of the Baramulla town ...	16,606

	Rs.
(viii) Improvement of the Sopore town ...	8,289
(ix) Loss incurred on the import of rice and its disposal in Srinagar at reduced rates after the floods, 1928	42,439
(x) Loss incurred on Atta issues at reduced rates after the floods, 1928 ...	1,612

(c) Other benefits which are not generally appreciated or known which are conferred on the producer are :—

- (i) Remission is given in times of floods, fire and other occasions of loss to producers. When such remission is given no interest is charged on advances that have been made.
- (ii) Payment of advances at a time to coincide with the recovery of Land Revenue thus enabling *assamis* to meet their Land Revenue liabilities without recourse to money-lenders.
- (iii) The payment of advances for *Khush Kharid* Shali (as distinct from demand). When an *assami* fails to deliver *Khush Kharid* Shali, for which advances have been paid, even though this may not have been remitted for any particular reasons, we recover such advances without any interest charges or penalty of any kind although we borrow money from the State to finance such operations at the interest rate of 6 per cent. per annum.

7. (a) Discussion of the statements referred to in paras. 2 and 3 (a) above can be conveniently undertaken here before I deal with the allegations of certain witnesses that the expenses of the Department are higher than they should be and that by reducing expenses the issue price of Shali to the public could be easily reduced.

(b) The year 1986-87 is the last complete year. I will, therefore, discuss the figures for that year.

Our budget for 1986-87 was based on a sale of Khirwars 3,80,000 Shali at Rs. 5 per Khirwar and the milling of some Khirwars 20,000 for issue to troops, hospitals etc. as rice. We anticipated a net profit of Rs. 24,307 on this basis. The actual profit after providing in full for all liabilities was Rs. 997 or a drop of some Rs. 23,310, I omit annas and pies in all amounts given in this note.

(c) This falling off was due directly to Shali sales falling to Khirwars 3,00,929, a drop in gross profit from turnover of nearly Rs. 1 lac. We had Khirwars 94,000 in reserve at end of year. At the same time expenses were reduced by Rs. 77,115. This was due chiefly to the expenses incurred on stocks carried forward to 1987-88 (current year) being carried forward also as "Unexpired Payments" for adjustment monthly during the current year. This has been done. Other reasons for the reduction in anticipated expenses (Rs. 77,115) are reduced handling charges,—unloading and distribution etc.—and economies.

(d) During the year 1986-87 Rs. 15,66,448 was paid to producers as advances for grain, free of interest.

Remissions for which advances had been paid totalled Khirwars 48,525, chiefly on account of floods in 1929. The value of this grain was approximately Rs. 1,82,000. This was carried forward for adjustment to the next year, *i. e.* the current year. It will be easily calculated that at 6 per cent. per annum this remission cost us Rs. 10,920 in interest charges in this year alone.

During 1986-87 we paid Rs. 79,902 to some 700 boatmen registered for work in our Department on account of transport wages from Mufassil to city. This of course is quite a normal charge.

(e) Details of expenses under each item for the year 1986-87 are given in the profit and loss statement attached to the balance sheet for that year. These figures are *actuals*.

(f) It is all very well for uninformed critics (and sometimes I am afraid they are interested or hostile), to say our expenses are excessive and that the sale price should be reduced, but I have never during the whole period I have been in charge of the Department received a constructive suggestion of a practical nature from anyone other than the Board or Minister in control of the Department. It is easy for people to say "Do this" or "Do that". They have no responsibility for failure or confusion. They do not suffer if mistakes are made in policy or in execution. It is easy for a witness to make a statement another thing to demonstrate its accuracy.

(g) It must be remembered that we are a Government concern. We are responsible for maintaining a reputation for honest working. We deal with 1,500 villages, comprising some 50,000 *assamis*, and nearly 1,50,000 citizens of Srinagar. We have to do our best to protect all interests with whom we deal from unfair actions and from exploitation. We have to conform with Government orders and procedure. We have to take action to protect the people from the effects of floods and other catastrophes on food grain prices. It is common knowledge that all Government controlled concerns are more expensive to run than purely commercial enterprises.

(h) There is an impression that we buy at, say, Rs. 3-12-0 per Khirwar and sell at Rs. 5 Khirwar and therefore should make lacs of profits per annum on a turnover of Khirwars 4 lacs. These critics forget, or know nothing of, such things as overhead charges. For your information I attach a statement showing the cost to us, including all charges, of Khirwar one Shali in 1986-87, and also Khirwar one rice. I am prepared to meet any criticism of these figures.

(i) In the Budget Estimates for 1986-87 an item "State Expenditure Rs. 27,000" will be noticed. This includes a contribution to the cost of the Co-operative Department staff. It also includes part of the pay of the Minister holding the portfolio for Food Control. It was represented by me that these were not fair charges to put upon our working expenses. My representations on this point have now been accepted and the equivalent item in the estimates for 1987-88 "Revenue and Agriculture Minister's Office" shows provision for Rs. 3,843 only. This is the cost of the Grain Control establishment in the Minister's office and is of course quite reasonable.

(j) The allowances to Revenue Staff and Commission to Zaildars and Lambardars are being reduced by $\frac{1}{3}$ with effect from the financial year beginning 1st Katik 1988.

(k) When people talk glibly about reducing our working expenses and reducing the sale price to the public "easily" they indicate a complete ignorance of our working and objects. So far as I am aware there has never been any intention to reduce the sale price. We have to build up reserves and when possible there are all sorts of projects in the furtherance of Grain Control calling for finance to develop them. In general these projects can be covered by the expression "improvements and additions to Irrigation Canals and Communications throughout the Valley."

It may be remarked however that to give a reduction of an anna per Khirwar Shali in sale price on an issue of Khirwars 4,00,000 involves a sum of Rs. 25,000.

8. (a) A statement showing the number of Hindus and Mohammedans employed by the Department has already been submitted. A similar statement is enclosed herewith showing staff as on 1st Katik 1979 and as at this date.

(b) It will be noticed that there were 149 Hindus (other than menials) on our staff on 1st Katik 1979. There are the same number today. In 1979 we had 7 Hindus menials. We now have 12. On 1st Katik 1979 we had on our staff 32 Mohammedans, other than menials. We now have 28. There were 18 Mohammedan menials on our staff on 1st Katik 1979. Today there are 49.

(c) On 1st Katik 1979 there was only one Mohammedan drawing over Rs. 50. Today there are seven. On 1st Katik 1979 there were 7 Hindus drawing over Rs. 50. Today there are 30. That is to say that out of 142 Hindus drawing below Rs. 50 per month in 1979, 24 have reached pay of over Rs. 50 p. m. (The post of President was abolished in the spring of 1923). The proportion of those who have advanced to pay of over Rs. 50 in this period is roughly 1 in 6. Of 31 Mohammedans six have reached a figure exceeding Rs. 50 since 1979. This is a proportion of roughly 1 in 5.

(d) The bulk of the staff was appointed before I assumed my present duties. They were appointed, I believe, by the Committee of Directors of the Srinagar Co-operative Stores. Both Mohammedans and Hindus were well represented on this Committee which consisted of the following gentlemen:—

1. C. M. Hadow Esquire, President.
 2. K. S. Mirza Ghulam Mustafa.
 3. Haji Mohammed Jan.
 4. Pandit Chandra Joo.
 5. Maulvi Attiqullah.
 6. Pandit Anand Kotru.
 7. M. Assad Ullah.
 8. Pandit Janki Nath Koul.
 9. Pandit Shankar Koul.
 10. Maulvi Ahmadullah Hamdani
 11. Kh. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Gangu.
- } Joint members having one vote only and attending the meetings of the Committee by turns.

9. (a) I am asked "to note particularly whether the number of Hindus employed is larger than need be and whether a larger proportion of Mohammedans cannot be employed".

This is a difficult question to answer. There is no "need" for members of either community to be employed as such. A larger number of Mohammedans could be employed. In fact my work would go on as usual if the staff were wholly Hindu or wholly Mohammedan; it is obviously more suitable to have both communities represented.

(b) Since I have held charge of my present appointment the question has never arisen with me, when it has been my duty to make appointments, as to whether the candidates for a vacancy were Hindus or Mohammedans. I have never had instructions to make appointments on a communal basis and I have never done so. To the best of my ability I have always taken the candidate best fitted, in my opinion, out of those making application to fill the vacancy. The only direction in which I have shown any preference has been perhaps to endeavour to obtain those connected with Zamin-dars. My reason for this has been that we deal with 50,000 *assamis*

and I consider in a department such as ours it is reasonable to encourage those Zamindars whose sons are sufficiently educated to perform duties required of them. I have not been very successful in this direction.

(c) I believe that the lower number of Mohammedans employed in the Department is due to the fact that the standard of education amongst the youth of this community has in the past been below the average of that of those in the sister community.

(d) If a line of policy is laid down for appointments to be made on a communal basis this inevitably involves the fixation of some standard of education for candidates. In the case of the Kashmir Valley Food Control Department I would suggest that this standard be fixed at the matriculation or higher. I mean to convey by this that candidates should have passed the matriculation and not merely have studied or sat for the examination. With this qualification appointments to the Department may be fixed for any percentage of any particular community if it is considered advisable to fix such a percentage but I think a preference should be given in the case of the Food Control Department to the sons of Zamindars irrespective of community.

(e) I have answered your enquiries to the best of my ability and as briefly as possible consistent with the avoidance of misunderstanding.

I hope what I have written will meet your requirements.

KASHMIR VALLEY FOOD CONTROL DEPARTMENT (1986—87).

General Statement.

Particulars.	Amount.			Total.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
By estimated profit on sales of Shali Khirwars 3,80,000 at Re. 1 per Khirwar ..	3,80,000	0	0			
By estimated net profit on rice milling as per statement enclosed ..	21,921	0	0	4,01,921	0	0
Less Expenses :—						
Office Establishment ..	55,752	0	0			
Tahsil Accountants ..	4,320	0	0			
Governor Kashmir, Accountant General's, Wazarat and Tahsil clerks ..	4,680	0	0			
Transport Staff ..	7,116	0	0			
Executive Staff ..	45,688	0	0			
Shali allowance to Revenue Staff ..	11,016	0	0			
Bonus to Staff ..	12,000	0	0			
State Expenditure ..	27,000	0	0			
General charges as per enclosed statement ..	2,10,042	0	0	3,77,614	0	0
Estimated net profit ..	....			24,307	0	0

Rice Milling Estimates for 1986-87.

Particulars.		Expenditure.			Income.		
		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
1. To cost of Shali Khirwars 20,200 at Rs. 4	..	80,800	0	0			
City carriage	..	300	0	0			
Cleaning charges (handling)	..	1,000	0	0			
Establishment	..	7,080	0	0			
Feeders	..	780	0	0			
Electric charges	..	3,000	0	0			
Miscellaneous	..	1,000	0	0			
Travelling	..	500	0	0			
Dryage	..	300	0	0			
Repairs	..	100	0	0			
2. By cost of rice Khirwars 12,625 at Rs. 8-12-0 (average rates)	..				1,10,468	12	0
By cost of broken rice Khirwars 631-4-0 (at 3 seers a Khirwar at Rs. 5 a Khirwar	..				3,156	4	0
By cost of Bhusa at 4 Traks a Khirwar = Khirwars 5,550 at Re. 0-10-0 a Khirwar	..				3,156	4	0
Total	..	94,860	0	0	1,16,781	4	0
Net profit	..	21,921	0	0			
GRAND TOTAL	..	1,16,781	4	0	1,16,781	0	0

KASHMIR VALLEY FOOD CONTROL DEPARTMENT.*Budget Statement for 1986-87.*

		Rs.	A.	P.
Interest	..	31,000	0	0
Stationery expenses	}	5,500	0	0
Printing and Binding				
Postage and Telegrams	..	650	0	0
Lighting and Heating	..	1,000	0	0
Travelling	..	10,500	0	0
Auditors Fees	..	2,000	0	0
Miscellaneous	..	1,800	0	0
Contingencies	..	1,300	0	0
City carriage	..	13,300	0	0
Detention	..	500	0	0
House-rent	..	5,500	0	0
Miscellaneous Transport	..	9,300	0	0
Dyrage	..	12,500	0	0

	Rs.	A.	P.
Commission and Rewards ..	33,250	0	0
Law charges ..	900	0	0
Gulab Bagh Maintenance ..	2,000	0	0
Octroi Duty ..	52,800	0	0
Depreciation ..	22,300	0	0
Gulab Bagh Power Charges ..	1,000	0	0
Police Guards ..	654	0	0
Repairs ..	1,000	0	0
Fire Protection Plant recurring charges ..	288	0	0
Remuneration to Patwaris ..	1,000	0	0
TOTAL ..	2,10,042	0	0

KASHMIR VALLEY FOOD CONTROL DEPARTMENT.

RECAST BUDGET 1987-88.

General Statement.

Particulars.	EXPENDITURE.		INCOME.	
	Amount.	Total.	Amount.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
By estimated profit on sales of Khirwars 3,80,000 at Re. 1 a Khirwar ..	....	....	3,80,000	....
By estimated profit on sales of Khirwars 20,000 at Re. -/8/- a Khirwar ..	....	....	10,000	....
By estimated net profit on rice milling as per statement "A" ..	....	....	15,172	4,05,172
Less expenses—				
Office Establishment ..	58,632	....	....	....
Tahsil Accountants ..	4,320	....	....	....
Governor Kashmir's, Wazarats and Tahsil offices ..	4,404	....	....	....
Transport Staff ..	7,356	....	....	....
Executive Staff ..	46,660	....	....	....
Revenue and Agriculture Minister's office ..	3,843	....	....	....
Pension contribution of Captain R. G. Wreford, I. A. ..	2,115	....	....	....
General charges as per statement ..	2,66,312	....	....	....
Shali allowance to Revenue Staff ..	10,236	4,03,878	....	....
Total ..	....	4,03,878	....	4,05,172
Net profit anticipated ..	1,294	....	....	....
GRAND TOTAL ..	4,05,172	....	....	4,05,172

RECAST BUDGET 1987-88.

General Charges Statement.

Budget Head.	Proposed provision.
	Rs.
Interest ..	48,960
Stationery expenses, Printing and Binding ..	5,500
Postage and Telegrams ..	650
Lighting and Heating ..	1,200
Travelling allowance ..	10,000
Audit expenses ..	1,188
Miscellaneous ..	1,800
Contingencies ..	2,272
City carriage ..	17,550
Detention ..	500
House-rent ..	4,500
Ambar expenses ..	2,000
Miscellaneous Transport ..	14,200
Dryage ..	21,400
Commission and Rewards ..	41,600
Law charges ..	750
Gulab Bagh Maintenance ..	2,000
Octroi duty ..	65,800
Depreciation ..	21,500
Gulab Bagh Power Charges ..	1,000
Police Guard ..	654
Repairs ..	1,000
Fire Protection Plant recurring charges ..	288
Total ..	2,66,312

KASHMIR VALLEY FOOD CONTROL DEPARTMENT.

RECAST BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR 1987-88.

Milling Department.

Name of Budget Head.	Preposed provision.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Carriage ..	400	0	0
Handling ..	1,300	0	0
Dryage ..	495	0	0
Power charges ..	2,400	0	0
Establishment ..	7,128	0	0
Feeders ..	780	0	0
Travelling ..	350	0	0
Miscellaneous ..	375	0	0
Repairs ..	100	0	0
Total ..	13,328	0	0

Particulars.	Expenditure.			Income.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
To cost of Khirwars 16,000-0-0 Shali at Rs. 4 per Khirwar and Khirwars 10,000-0-0 rice at Khirwar 0 10 0 per Khirwar Shali being average outturn..	64,000	0	0			
To expenses anticipated as above ..	13,328	0	0			
By cost of Khirwars 10,000-0-0 rice outturn of Khirwars 16,000-0-0 Shali at Khirwar 0 10 0 per Khirwar Shali at Rs. 8-12-0 Khirwar (average rate) ..				87,500	0	0
By cost of Khirwars 500-0-0 broken rice outturn of Khirwars 16,000-0-0 Shali at Khirwar 0 0 3 per Khirwar at Rs. 5 per Khirwar ..				2,500	0	0
By cost of Khirwars 4,000-0-0 Bhusa outturn of Khirwars 16,000-0-0 Shali at Khirwar 0 4 0 per Khirwar (average outturn) at Re. 0-10-0 Khirwar ..				2,500	0	0
Total ..	77,328	0	0	92,500	0	0
To profit anticipated ..	15,172	0	0			
GRAND TOTAL ..	92,500	0	0	92,500	0	0

KASHMIR VALLEY FOOD CONTROL DEPARTMENT.

Balance Sheet for the year ended 31st Assuj 1987.

[illegible]

KASHMIR VALLEY FOOD CONTROL DEPARTMENT.

Profit and Loss Statement for the year ended 31st Assuj 1987.

Expenditure.	Amount.	Total.	Income.	Amount.	Total.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Miscellaneous Transport.	5,617 3 0		Profit on Sales ..	2,82,656 14 4	
City Carriage ..	8,561 13 3		Difference in price Account.	763 2 3	
Stationery Expenses	3,863 6 1½		Miscellaneous Receipts.	1,752 0 3	
Gulab Bagh Maintenance.	1,661 4 3		Unclaimed Credits	109 13 7½	2,85,281 14 5½
Repairs ..	312 14 9		Milling.		
Interest ..	16,775 14 6		Profit on Rice Sales	25,203 0 10½	
Detention Allowance	34 12 0		Profit on Bhusa Sales	2,176 4 9	
Dryage ..	4,098 11 0		Difference in Out-turn.	2,854 3 1½	
Remuneration to Patwaris etc.	1,000 0 0		Miscellaneous Receipts.	40 5 9	30,273 14 6
Commission and Rewards.	23,174 14 1				
Depreciation ..	22,817 12 9				
Bonus Expenses ..	9,630 0 0				
Auditors Fee ..	2,000 0 0				
Miscellaneous ..	1,261 0 10½				
Contingencies ..	941 6 6				
Establishment ..	1,13,546 11 2½				
Fire Protection Plant recurring charges.	268 0 0				
Gulab Bagh Power charges.	873 1 3				
House-rent ..	1,430 10 5½				
Law Charges ..	900 0 0				
Octroi Duty ..	36,014 8 10				
Postage & Telegrams	506 6 6				
Police Guard ..	654 0 0				
Allowance to Revenue Staff.	10,568 3 0				
Lighting & Heating	851 9 6				
Travelling ..	8,005 14 8				
State Expenditure..	26,800 0 0	3,02,170 2 0			
Milling.					
Handling ..	964 12 9				
City Carriage ..	289 5 0				
Establishment ..	6,717 15 8				
Feeders ..	623 9 0				
Dryage ..	419 0 6				
Travelling ..	237 14 3				
Miscellaneous ..	672 2 0				
Electrical Charges ..	2,458 9 9				
Repairs ..	5 3 1½	12,388 8 ½			
Net profit for the year carried to Balance Sheet.		997 2 11			
Total ..		3,15,555 12 11½	Total ..		3,15,555 12 11½

KASHMIR VALLEY FOOD DEPARTMENT.

Balance Sheet for the month ended 32nd Sawan 1988.

Liabilities.	Amount.	Total.	Assets.	Amount.	Total.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Capital Account ..		2,85,947 10 11	Buildings, Machinery & Furniture, etc.—		
Reserve Fund ..		5,90,000 0 0	Dead Stock ..	468 9 2½	
State Loan ..		3,76,656 1 0	Loose Tools & Plant.	13,968 12 9	
Bonus ..		50,479 10 6	Furnishings ..	3,574 15 0	
Deposits ..		23,916 13 0	Electric Accessories.	885 6 3	
Old Shali Suspense Account ..		3,748 11 8	Office Building ..	3,216 6 3	
Sundry Creditors—			Mufassil Ghat Sheds	302 15 0	
Advances Payable	32,831 3 7½		Hullers & Rice Cleaning Machinery ..	12,399 5 0	
Hanjis ..	873 10 6		Fire Protection Plant	17,745 6 5	
Cash Orders ..	699 13 9		Machinery ..	4,722 12 0	
House Owners ..	143 0 3	34,547 12 1½	Granaries ..	2,57,653 11 7	
Local Stores Profits—			Rice Milling Sheds and Godowns ..	19,795 5 0	
Anantnag Stores..		34 4 4	Gulab Bagh Site ..	15,556 0 3	
Rice Milling—			Bag Stock ..	2,119 10 3	3,52,409 2 11½
Advances Payable		12 5 6	Sundry Debtors—		
Grain Advances 1987-88—			Advances Recoverable ..	59,547 4 7	
Baramulla ..	31 5 9		House Building Advances ..	10,750 4 0	
Pulwama ..	319 8 3		Hanjis on shortage Account ..	99 5 9	
Anantnag ..	8 0 9		Imprest ..	15 0 0	70,411 14 4
Sher-i-Khas ..	1 15 9		Stationery in hand		5,788 8 7½
Kulgam ..	2,923 8 0	3,529 3 6	Stock of Grain in hand—		
Badgam ..	244 13 0		City Abi Ghats ..	22,287 15 9	
K h u s h K h a r i d 1987-88—			Stock Ghat ..	6,254 5 6	
Kulgam ..	726 15 9		City Stores (Kothas and Granaries) ..	5,04,528 4 3	
Anantnag ..	1 3 3	818 6 9	Storage ..	186 5 3	5,33,256 14 9
Pulwama ..	90 3 9		Grain Advances—		
Profit & Loss Account—			Baramulla ..	20,609 2 9	
General profit ending Har 1988 ..	4,595 13 10		Pulwama ..	3,924 2 6	
Profit & Loss 1987-88—			Anantnag ..	16,908 15 6	
Profit for this month as per Profit and Loss Statement enclosed Rs. 65,748-4-7.			Sher-i-Khas..	6,745 6 6	
Less.			Kulgam ..	23,332 9 6	
Loss as per previous statement Rs. 12,768-0-3 ..	52,980 4 4		Badgam ..	63,528 0 6	
			1988-89 Tehsildars. { Baramulla ..	24,968 4 0	
			1987-88. { Pulwama ..	66,000 0 0	
			{ Anantnag ..	25,000 0 0	

Liabilities.	Amount.	Total.	Assets.	Amount.	Total.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Profit and Loss on Rice Milling:—					
As per previous statement					
Rs. 23,387-10-6					
Add					
Profit for this month as per Profit and Loss Statement					
Rs. 3,184-7-3 ..	26,572 1 9	84,148 3 11	1988-89 Tahsildars. { Kulgam ... 74,996 14 0		
			Badgam .. 99,985 0 0		
			Sher-i-Khas 14,765 15 0		4,40,764 6 3
			Khush Kharid Advances:—		
			{ Kulgam .. 13,956 0 3		
			Sher-i-Khas .. 315 5 9		
			1987-88. { Anantnag .. 10,843 3 3		
			Pulwama .. 5,861 10 9		
			Baramulla .. 683 0 6		
			Badgam .. 1,555 14 3		33,215 2 9
			Old Shali Oustandings 1975-77:—		
			Badgam		3,750 3 8
			Rice Milling:—		
			Advances Recoverable .. 1,690 4 6		
			Stores .. 4,330 9 0		6,020 13 6
			Cash at Bankers and in hand—		
			Lloyds Bank Floating Account 391 9 0		
			Cash in hand .. 7,830 7 4½		8,222 0 4½
Total ..		14,53,839 3 2½	Total ..		14,53,39 3 2½

KASHMIR VALLEY FOOD CONTROL DEPARTMENT.

Profit and Loss Statement for the month ended 32nd Sawan 1988.

Expenditure.	Amount.	Total.	Income.	Amount.	Total.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Miscellaneous Transport ..	2,204 9 9		Profit on Sales ..	60,865 11 9	
City Carriage ..	708 5 9		Miscellaneous Receipts ..	145 13 6	
Stationery Expenses	612 15 9		Interest ..	22,823 14 6	83,835 7 9
Loose Tools and Plant Expenses ..	1 9 0				
Furnishings and Electric Accessories Expenses ..	1 0 0				
Difference in Price Account ..	35 2 6				
Repairs ..	22 0 3				
Dryage ..	547 4 3				
Detention Allowance	3 12 0				

Expenditure.	Amount.	Total.	Income.	Amount.	Total.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Gulab Bagh Maintenance ..	214 8 0	4,351 3 3			
Charges—					
Establishment ..	9,494 0 0				
Shali Allowance..	982 10 0				
Ambar Expenses..	1,514 11 6				
Cycle Allowance ..	200 5 0				
Contingencies ..	24 0 0				
Flood Contingen- cies ..	2 4 0				
Contingencies (Riots) ..	300 10 0				
Fire Protection Plant (recurring charges) ..	24 13 0				
House-rent ..	170 4 3				
Law Charges ..	50 0 0				
Miscellaneous ..	47 10 6				
Octroi Duty ..	309 8 8				
Printing and Bind- ing ..	47 0 0				
Police Guard ..	54 8 0				
Postage and Tele- grams ..	82 15 0				
Travelling ..	365 10 0				
Peon Allowance ..	65 2 0	13,735 15 11			
Net profit for this month carried to Balance Sheet ..		65,748 4 7			
Total ..		83,835 7 9		Total ..	83,835 7 9

KASHMIR VALLEY FOOD CONTROL DEPARTMENT.

*Profit and Loss Statement of Rice Milling for the month ended
32nd Sawan 1988.*

Expenditure.	Amount.	Total.	Income.	Amount.	Total.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Charges:—					
City Carriage ..	22 3 6		Profit on Rice Sales	3,624 15 0	
Establishment ..	564 0 0		„ „ Bhusa „	156 10 0	
Handling ..	139 14 0		Difference in out- turn ..	239 14 9	
Travelling ..	26 5 0		Miscellaneous Re- ceipts ..	5 1 0	4,026 8 9
Dryage ..	27 4 9				
Feeders ..	52 0 0				
Miscellaneous ..	10 6 3	842 1 6			
Net profit for the month carried to Balance Sheet ..		3,184 7 3			
Total ..		4,026 8 9		Total ..	4,026 8 9

Statement showing the composition of the staff as on 1st Katik 1979.

Particulars.	Hindus.	Mohammedans.
1. No. of officers drawing over Rs. 200 ..	(President) 1	.....
2. No. of officers drawing over Rs. 100 and under Rs. 200 ..	3	1
3. No. of officers drawing over Rs. 50 and under Rs. 100 ..	3	.....
4. No. of officers drawing Rs. 50 and under ..	142	31
5. Menials ..	7	18
Total ..	156	50

Statement showing the composition of the existing staff.

Particulars.	Hindus.	Mohammedans.
1. No. of officers drawing over Rs. 200 ..	2	1
2. No. of officers drawing over Rs. 100 and under Rs. 200 ..	3	1
3. No. of officers drawing over Rs. 50 and under Rs. 100 ..	25	5
4. No. of officers drawing Rs. 50 and under ..	119	21
5. Menials ..	12	49
Total ..	161	77

List of the last ten persons appointed including menials with dates of appointment showing Hindus and Mohammedans separately.

Name.	Date of appointment.	Description of community.	
		Hindus.	Mohammedans.
1. Alia Mistri ..	23-11-1985	..	M
2. Pt. Prem Nath Matu, Ghat Munshi ..	2-7-1985	H	..
3. Usta Gaffara ..	1-7-1985	..	M
4. M. Assad Ulla Shiekh, Ticket Clerk ..	1-7-1985	..	M
5. Abdulla Pir, Cooly ..	1-7-1985	..	M
6. Niranjnan Nath, Mistri ..	12-5-1985	H	..
7. Mala Nabir, Peon ..	3-4-1985	..	M
8. Mala Rahman, Peon ..	2-4-1985	..	M
9. Pt. Tota Koul, Assistant Cashier ..	23-12-1984	H	..
10. Mohi-ud-din, Chowkidar ..	5-12-1984	..	M

List of last ten persons appointed excluding menials with dates of appointment, showing Hindus and Mohammedans separately.

Name.	Date of appointment.	Description of community.	
		Hindus.	Mohammedans.
1. Pt. Prem Nath Matu, Ghat Munshi ..	2-7-1985	H	..
2. Usta Gaffara ..	1-7-1985	..	M
3. M. Assad Ulla Shiekh, Ticket Clerk ..	1-7-1985	..	M
4. Pt. Isha Lal Ganju, Ghat Munshi ..	19-6-1985	H	..
5. Pt. Niranjana Nath, Mistri ..	12-5-1985	H	..
6. Pt. Tota Koul, Assistant Cashier ..	23-12-1984	H	..
7. Pt. Sham Sunder, Tahsilt Clerk ..	3-12-1984	H	..
8. Pt. Mahishar Nath, Firist ..	1-9-1984	H	..
9. Pt. Ram Chand Bhat, Ghat Munshi ..	6-8-1984	H	..
10. Pt. Jia Lal Raina, Head Clerk Tickets	1-7-1984	H	..

KASHMIR VALLEY FOOD CONTROL DEPARTMENT.

Cost of one Khirwar Shali including overhead charges (actuals 1986-87).

	Rs.	A.	P.
Average price paid to producer	...	3 12	0
Average price paid for transport to city	...	0 4	0
Octroi	...	0 2	0.10
Storage including handling (Miscellaneous transport)	...	0 0	3.70
City carriage and detention charges	...	0 0	5.80
House-rent	...	0 0	0.90
Dryage	...	0 0	3.10
Interest	...	0 2	1.20
Commission and Rewards	...	0 1	3
State Expenditure	...	0 0	5.90
Depreciation	...	0 1	3.30
Establishment	...	0 6	3.20
Shali allowance to Revenue officials	...	0 0	7.10
Bonus to Staff	...	0 0	6.30
Stationery, Postage and Telegrams	...	0 0	2.90
Travelling	...	0 0	5.30
Lighting, Heating, Law Charges and Police Guard	...	0 0	1.60
Miscellaneous and Contingencies, Auditors Fee and Remuneration to Patwaris	...	0 0	3.40
Gulab Bagh Maintenance, Power charges, Repairs and Fire protection charges	...	0 0	2.10
Total	...	5 0	10.90

NOTE.—The loss on issue of Shali (see Balance Sheet) was chiefly due to low issues of Shali for this year which were considerably below normal thus increasing the cost of overhead charges. This loss was more than made up by profit on milling which for the sake of convenience was not debited with all overhead charges in full.

KASHMIR VALLEY FOOD CONTROL DEPARTMENT.

Cost of one Khirwar rice including overhead charges (actuals 1986-87).

Total Shali	..	3,09,000	0	0	Khirwars
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Less	..	2,86,000	0	0	„
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Balance	..	23,000	0	0	„
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Milled Khirwars $23,000 \times 10 =$ Khirwars $\frac{2,30,000}{16} =$ Khirwars 14,375 rice.

Charges Paid.				Average expenditure per Khirwar of rice.		
		Rs.		Rs.	A.	P.
1. Handling	..	965	..	0	1	0.89
2. City carriage	..	289	..	0	0	3.86
3. Establishment	..	6,717	..	0	7	5.71
4. Feeders	..	623	..	0	0	8.25
5. Dryage	..	419	..	0	0	5.59
6. Travelling	..	238	..	0	0	3.18
7. Miscellaneous	..	672	..	0	0	8.97
8. Electric charges	..	2,460	..	0	2	8.89
9. Repairs	..	5	..	0	0	0
Total .. 12,388				0	13	9.34
Add cost of 15 Traks rice at Re. 0-10-0 rice per Khirwar of Shali ..				6	6	5
Total expenditure on one Khirwar rice ..				7	4	2
Profit per Khirwar of rice Selling Price ..				1	3	10
Total ..				8	8	0

NOTE.—Duties and the full percentage of other overhead charges are not provided for against milling.

HIS HIGHNESS' GOVERNMENT, JAMMU AND KASHMIR.

STATE GRANARIES SRINAGAR.

NOTE ON GRAIN CONTROL IN KASHMIR FOR THE INFORMATION OF
THE INDIAN STATES COMMITTEE.

The problem of maintaining adequate food supplies in Kashmir in general, and in Srinagar in particular, has always existed, and, from time to time, at varying intervals, has exercised the minds of those responsible for the administration.

Before the first Regular Land Revenue Settlement, which was carried out by Sir Walter Lawrence, land revenue was recovered in kind. At the time of the first Regular Settlement a cash assessment was introduced, but the right was retained to revert to recovery in kind in times of emergency.

2. The economic effects of the Great War began to make themselves felt in Kashmir about 1916-17. Prices began to rise and the price of grain was no exception.

There was an outcry from the poorer people of Srinagar in particular, and relief was demanded from the administration.

Action was taken in the winter of 1917-18. The arrangements made were necessarily hasty. There was no proper organisation to deal with the situation, and the work of the various State Departments suffered as a result of their attention and energies being deflected from the discharge of their normal duties to the immediate necessities of food control arrangements. From the winter of 1917-18 onwards the situation gradually became worse. In the autumn of 1921 the Kashmir Government was forced by the circumstances to give the question their fullest attention, and to adopt a policy of Grain Control. The price had risen to Rs. 18 per Kharwar (170 lbs) Shali (unhusked rice); it is recorded in one instance that as much as Rs. 24 per Kharwar was paid.

3. It was sought to give effect to this policy by the sudden expansion of Co-operative Credit, and an organisation was created known as "The Srinagar Co-operative Stores" whose object was the acquisition, and distribution of grain. The Srinagar Co-operative Stores share capital rose to about Rs. 90,000 only, in Rs. 10 shares. Shareholders were to receive grain at a more favourable rate than non-shareholders. This capital was of course useless for the purpose of financing the necessary operations on a sufficiently large scale. The Kashmir Government undertook to loan the organisation Rs. 20,00,000 at a rate of interest one per cent. over Bank rate.

The Srinagar Co-operative Stores received the assistance of the State Co-operative Department in the acquisition of grain. Collection of revenue in kind was reverted to, but the rates paid were much in excess of the assessment rates, and were on a generous scale. Various other measures were taken.

4. His Excellency the Viceroy was on a visit to Kashmir about this time, and before his departure the Kashmir Government announced the appointment of a Board of Control, which came into operation early in November 1921. This Board of Control was presided over by General Raja Sir Harsingh, now His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir. The Revenue Minister was a Member

of the Board, which was completed by the arrival of Mr. B. J. Glancy, C. I. E., I. C. S., whose services were lent by the Government of India. The Board of Control had a difficult situation to deal with. They did not always approve of the policy followed, or the action taken by, the Managing Committee of the Srinagar Co-operative Stores. It became apparent before long that the estimates for grain collection were over optimistic. Issues at the beginning had been made on too lavish a scale. Collection by means of Co-operative enterprise was not successful. Hundred of new village sale societies had been opened. The movement, which was comparatively new, could not stand the strain put upon it. The assistance of the Revenue Department staff was obtained: but even so the amount of grain collected was much below the original very optimistic estimates.

The year was full of difficulty, and supplies were made to eke out only by the most careful rationing and handling.

5. From the date of its formation the Board of Control, in addition to dealing with the present, was busy making proper arrangements for the future. The new financial year began on 1st Katik 1979 (16th October 1922). The method of acquisition introduced at that time by the Board of Control remains practically unchanged. It has been modified from time to time. It is a demand on cultivators to deliver a portion of their Shali produce at fixed rates, and, this extent, resembles the *mujawaza* (assessment in kind) but with this difference that the fixed rates are approximately twice the assessment rate. These are in every way fair prices. The actual amount that each landholder has to deliver was carefully worked out by the Settlement Department, and is approximately what the actual assessment in kind would be. But no demand is made from those not holding rice producing lands.

The price is paid to the landholder partly in advance at the time of the *Rabya* qist, or revenue instalment paid in July, and partly at the time of the *Kharif* qist, or revenue instalment paid in February. The object is that the landholder shall receive money at a time when he most requires it, and would otherwise have to borrow from money-lenders to pay his revenue. He is thus saved interest charges. The collection of grain is carefully controlled. The unit dealt with in our accounts is the village. The Lambardar, or headman, of each village is paid commission at the rate of one anna per Kharwar Shali (170 lbs approximately). He is supplied with consignment, despatch books and receipt books free of charge. The latter he uses for giving receipts to individual landholders, and the former are filled in by him, and sent with each consignment despatched from the village to the collecting centre. All the collecting centres are situated on the various waterways of Kashmir, and are known as "Mufassil Ghats". It is the duty of Zaildars, or Circle Officers, to control the Lambardars in their respective Zails, and for this each Zaildar receives commission from us at the rate of three pies per Kharwar for all Shali delivered from villages in the circle. The grain thus collected at Mufassil Ghats is brought down to Srinagar for distribution in grain boats, the supply and control of which is under the State Granaries. Over 800 boats are employed at the busiest season.

It speaks well for the efforts of the Board of Control that the arrangements made for collection have remained practically the same to the present time. The Revenue Department officials continue to assist us in our dealings with the cultivators.

6. In October 1922 (end of the 1st financial year) the "Srinagar Co-operative Stores", as such, ceased to exist. The shareholders were repaid their share subscriptions together with a dividend of 12½ per cent. and compensation. The organization then became known as "The Srinagar Stores", and worked directly under the orders of the Board of Control. The latter was responsible to the State, and was responsible

for the loan of Rs. 20 lakhs, as against some Rs. 90,000, subscribed by the shareholders of the Srinagar Co-operative Stores, whom the Managing Committee represented. It was essential that the policy and opinions of the Board of Control should prevail. The designation "Srinagar Stores" was changed to "State Granaries" in 1925, as it was deemed to be a more suitable title. In the same year, on the accession to the *gaddi* of His Highness the present Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir, who up to that time had controlled the Board's policy and activities, the Board of Control was dissolved, and His Highness placed the State Granaries directly under the orders of his Finance Minister. This arrangement continues at present.

7. The method of distribution in Srinagar has undergone slight modification from time to time.

The whole permanent Indian population living within the Srinagar Municipal area are registered, and for purposes of control divided into Zillas (circles) and Mohallahs, which are smaller units consisting of a few streets. The head of each family is supplied with a ration ticket, which is issued free by the State Granaries. The ration ticket contains, amongst other details, the number of persons in each family to receive rations; the ticket consists of thirteen pieces—a counterfoil and one section for each month. Distributing centres known as "City Ghats", or landing places, are located throughout the city on the banks of the main river, and on the various canals. So many "Mohallahs" are attached to each Ghat, and ticket-holders daily, at fixed hours, can obtain their monthly supplies on presentation of their tickets. These Ghats are staffed by, and are under the control of, the State Granaries. Shali (unhusked rice) is distributed to the various City Ghats in boats. There are some 35,000 families in Srinagar and hence 35,000 ration ticket-holders to be dealt with.

8. In addition to distribution, storage on a large scale is undertaken. In 1921 and 1922 the storage accommodation was not good, and a great deal of loss and inconvenience was experienced owing to the impossibility of unloading boats quickly. This caused dislocation of transport arrangements, and resulted in heavy demurrage charges.

It was decided to build storage accommodation. The present site, Gulab Bagh, was selected and placed at our disposal by His Highness the present Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, and construction was begun. The site is an ideal one for our purpose. We had no models or data to guide us, and the existing type of containers is entirely the product of local effort. The container has been improved gradually as knowledge has been gained from experience. We now have 40 containers. Each has a capacity of 5,000 Kharwars—roughly 10,500 maunds and so our storage accommodation at Gulab Bagh is now Kharwars 2,00,000—roughly 4,20,000 maunds or 15,000 tons.

In addition to this accommodation we rent a large number of houses in the city. These are known as "Kothas". The grain stored in them is issued direct to the people residing in the locality in which the "Kothas" are situated. Thus they become issue centres, and temporarily take the place of City Ghats. If necessary we can arrange for storage in "Kothas" up to 70,000 or 80,000 Kharwars. In addition we can carry a stock of roughly 25,000 Kharwars in boats without incurring demurrage charges. We can, therefore, handle a minimum of 3,00,000 Kharwars at a time, which is equivalent to 6,30,000 maunds or 22,500 tons. "Kothas" are located especially in areas where at certain times of the year the water level is too low to allow movement by boat. We handle yearly about Kharwars 4,00,000. In the present year we have paid advances for just over Kharwars 4,00,000.

9. Accounts are kept absolutely up to date. Receipts and issues are recorded as promptly as possible.

The books are balanced monthly, half yearly, and yearly. The accounts are audited yearly.

10. As remarked previously, prior to the Government taking action in 1921 the price per Kharwar Shali had risen to Rs. 18. When the "Srinagar Co-operative Stores," began operations they issued Shali at Rs. 5 per Kharwar to shareholders, and at Rs. 5-8-0 per Kharwar to non-shareholders. When the "Srinagar Co-operative Stores" was dissolved, and replaced by the present organization, the rate was made Rs. 5 per Kharwar for all. Since that date our rates have never changed whether the crop conditions, our purchase and sale rates have remained unaltered. It must be pointed out that the very high prices prevailing in 1921 were only partly justified by economic conditions. Prices did show a tendency to rise but grain-dealers, quickly seizing the opportunity, manipulated the market, and forced up prices to figure entirely unjustified. The geographical position of Kashmir assisted them in this profiteering. The staple food of Kashmir-rice is not available in Northern India in very large quantities, and even if it were the fact that there is a lead of nearly 200 miles from rail-head makes relief from outside extremely costly and difficult, and this is the reason why it has become necessary, against all the principles of free-trade, to impose and maintain control. If Kashmir was not isolated, as it is, supply and demand would automatically adjust themselves as elsewhere, and the necessity of establishing control would not arise. Since 1921 the grain-dealers have had less opportunity to manipulate the market but for past few years they have been active. They always will be whenever the opportunity offers. By combining, and following a more or less uniform policy of only releasing stocks at a certain price, they have managed to push up prices in the Mufassil for the past two years. These questions, and the activities of grain-dealers generally, have recently received the consideration of His Highness and his Ministers, and continue to hold their attention.

11. The Kashmir Government does not take one anna of the State Granaries' profits. These profits are earmarked for the furtherance of the Grain Control Scheme, and for the benefit of the producer and the consumer. The organisation is not a State Department, but a State-controlled-department. Sanction has been given to create a Reserve Fund of Rs. 10,00,000. and as a beginning Rs. 5,00,000 have been placed to Reserve from accumulated profits. Rs. 30,000 was given last year to the Srinagar Municipal Committee for the improvement of City Ghats and Ghat approaches. Rs. 54,000 was also given last year for the construction of a pucca metalled road from Srinagar to Badgam. This is to the great advantage of Badgam cultivators; previously this road was so bad as to be almost impossible in winter and wet weather. Improved communications and consequently better transport facilities, are considered to be the best form of assistance we can give the producer. It is hoped gradually to finance the construction of other pucca roads. The average present yearly net profit is a little over Rs. 1,00,000. This is not high when it is realised that expenditure is nearly Rs. 20,00,000 annually. There must be a profit or loss; the sale of profit is no more than sufficient to safeguard against loss. Working expenditure totalling Rs. 20,00,000 (approximately) cost price of grain paid to the producer, plus cost of transport to Srinagar and Rs. 3,00,000 cost of handling, establishment, etc.

12. A few figures will indicate the size of our undertaking. Since operations were begun in 1921. We have handled 28 lakhs Kharwars Shali, equivalent 58,10,000 maunds or 207,500 tons. Our losses from all causes such as dryage, deterioration, damage from rats, etc., only total 19,000 Kharwars or 64 per cent. of the amount handled. This is an exceptionally low figure. We have supplied (approximately) 1,40,000 people monthly with a Shali ration for a period of 6½ years, i. e.,

since September 1921. This is equivalent to feeding nearly eleven million people for one month. During this same period we have paid to the producer Rs. 105 lakhs as the price of grain taken over from him. Roughly 50 per cent. of this total was paid before the grain was delivered, and advanced free of interest. The amount of debts outstanding (excluding the current year), due from the producer total Rs. 120-15-0. We expect to have no debts on account of the current year. We deal each year with roughly 1,500 villages. Detailed lists, prepared each year by us, recording how much Shali has to be delivered from each landholder, show that we take supplies from 41,000 different individual holdings in the six Tahsils from which we collect grain. Not one anna is due for payment by us to the producer, except the commission payable to Lambardars and Zaildars for the current year's work, and for Shali delivered by producers in excess of the amount fixed for delivery. The latter are only small items and will be cleared shortly. Since September 1921 we have paid Rs. 1,01,882 in commission to Lambardars (village headmen) and Rs. 25,459 to Zaildars. Similar figures could be given in connection with other items but enough has been said to acquaint the Committee with the nature and size of the State Granaries organization and its activities.

List of persons wounded and killed during the riot and anonymous
letters regarding Sangam bridge.

EXHIBITS No. 18 & 54.

The following lists have been submitted by Colonel Gandharb Singh, Inspector General of Police (Witness No. 2 as requested *vide* page 15.

Copy of a letter dated 20th July 1931 from Doctor Vosper, Mission Hospital, Srinagar, to G. E. C. Wakefield Esquire, C. I. E., O. B. E., Political and Army Minister.

In answer to yours of today's date wounded admitted to Mission Hospital:—

Total	... 16
Died	... 3
Still in	... 8
Discharge	... 5

HIS HIGHNESS' GOVERNMENT, JAMMU AND KASHMIR.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

No. 561-C, dated Srinagar, the 20th July 1931.

Copy of the above together with that to which it is a reply, forwarded to the Inspector General of Police, Srinagar, for information.

(Sd.) POLITICAL MINISTER.

Particulars regarding cases of injuries treated as In-patients in Mission Hospital, Srinagar.

No.	Name.	Age.	Residence.	Occupation.	Particulars of charge	Progress.
1	Ismal Sheikh	30 years	Dalal Mohalla	Embroiderer	Slight. Elbow and left thigh	Improving.
2	Abdul Gaffar	35 "	Sheikh Mohalla	"	" Head and left shoulder gun shot	"
3	Nura Khan	30 "	Kava Dara Mohalla	Tent-repairer	" Both thighs gun shot	"
4	Mohamad Shafi	30 "	Naqashabad Sahib	Baker	Severe compound fracture by Lathi. Wounds lower abdomen.	Died.
5	Qadir	30 "	Bahudin Sahib	Rafugar	Severe. Gun shot over the lower abdomen and left elbow in front.	"
6	Ghulam	16 "	Nao Pora	Nalchiband	Slight. Gun shot over abdomen superficial	Improving.
7	Ghulam Mohammad	25 "	Juma Masjid	Tent-repairer	" Small gun shot wounds on thigh	"
8	Anwar Bath	30 "	Anderwala Safakadal	Carpet-weaver	" Small gun shot wounds on leg	"
9	Subhan Bhat	25 "	Naidyar Rainawari	Fruit-seller	" Small wounds on arm and shoulder. Gun shot.	"
10	Rahman Mohalla	30 "	Narvara	Shoe-maker	" Wounds over right foot and knee	"
11	Ramzan Chola	60 "	Khanyar	Sawyer	Severe Head injury right temporal region Gun shot.	Died.
12	Khalil Okhun	30 "	Bhodin Sahib	Embroiderer	Slight. Left leg Gun shot	Improving.
13	Ghulam Ali Shah	28 "	Drugmulla Sopore	Majawar Astan	Slight	"
14	Naba Sheikh	32 "	Zaldrager Tashwan	Tailor	Slight. Left eye ball. Gun shot	"

(Sd.) H. L. TIKKU, M. B., B. CH. (Edin),

Chief Medical Officer, Kashmir.

**Names and addresses and description of wounds of bodies examined in
Juma Masjid on the morning of Tuesday the 14th July 1931.**

No.	Name.	Address.	Description of wounds.
1	Ahmad But son of Qadir But ..	Fateh Kadal ..	One wound on the root of neck. Blood from mouth.
2	Usman Bat son of Rahman But..	Kalash Pura ..	Many shot wounds right side chest and right side head.
3	Mohd. Halwai son of Rahman Halwai ..	Near Juma Masjid..	Shot wounds in the right eye and to left of nose and Two shot wounds of left leg.
4	Akbar Mohd. son of Faqir Mohd.	Nawa Bazar ..	Two shot wounds chest, one shot wound left collar bone. One left arm.
5	Ahmad Mir son of Mohd. Mir ..	Gojwara ..	One shot wound chest over aorta. One left side chest.
6	Gulam Nabi Kotwal son of Abdulla Kotwal ..	Pandan ..	Two shot wounds left side abdomen.
7	Gulam Mohd. Naqash son of Sultan Mohd. Naqash ..	Qaid Kadal ..	Two shot wounds left side chest. One shot wound left forearm.
8	Rasul Dora son of Ali Dora ..	Amda Kadal ..	Two shot wounds in right shoulder. One outer side right arm. Two left side face. One mid line on root of neck in front.
9	Amir Makai son of Rasul Makai..	Nawa Kadal ..	Large lacerated wound at root of penis below. Said to have been shot at night on a city road.
10	Shaban Makai son of Rehman Makai ..	.....	Two wounds left side chest probably shot wounds.
11	Khaliq Shora son of Samad Shora	Sona Masjid ..	Four shot wounds left side of chest.

(Sd.) A. VOSPER.

No. 560-C, dated Srinagar, the 19/20th July 1931.

Copy forwarded to the Inspector General of Police, Srinagar, for information.

(Sd.) POLITICAL MINISTER.

List of wounded treated in the out-patients departments in the
Mission Hospital, Srinagar.

Serial No.	Name.	Particulars of injury.	REMARKS.
1	Ahmad Shah ...	Slight superficial wound on Chest	Improving.
2	Las Mir ...	" " " Ankle	"
3	Khalik Mashki ...	" " " Leg ...	"
4	Sikandar ...	" " " Wrist ...	"
5	Ahmad Bat ...	" " " Leg ...	"
6	Samad Sofi ...	" " " Thigh ...	"
7	Rajab ...	" " " Leg ...	"
8	Razak Dar ...	" " " Back ...	"
9	Ghulam Mohammad	" " " Arm ...	"
10	Subhan Matho ...	" " " Head...	"
11	Ghulam Zargar ...	" " " Arm ...	"
12	Mohammado ...	" " " Leg ...	"
13	Mohammad Mir ...	" " " Arm & Head	"
14	Rasul Najar ...	" " " Leg ...	"
15	Habib Halwai ...	" " " Head ...	"
16	Ahmad Shah ...	" " " Arm...	"
17	Rasul Beg ...	" " " Head and right back.	"
18	Ali Hajjam ...	" " " Arm ...	"
19	Ghulam Mohammad	" " " Arm ...	"
20	Khaliq Khan ...	" " " Leg & Arm	"
21	Ghulam Nabi ...	" " " Arm ...	"
22	Khalil Hamal ...	" " " Leg ...	"
23	Mohammad Maqbul	" " " Leg & Arm	"
24	Mohammad Bhat...	" " " Thigh ...	"
25	Jalil Okhun ...	" " " Leg ...	"
26	Kamal Sheikh ...	" " " Back ...	"

Serial No.	Name.	Particulars of injury.	REMARKS.
27	Lala Dar ...	Slight superficial wound on Head	Improving.
28	Sultan Najar ...	" " " Leg ...	"
29	Nur Din ...	" " " Head ...	"
30	Abli Bat ...	" " " Arm ...	"
31	Dr. Abdul Wahid...	" " " Fore-arm and left leg thigh.	"

N. B.—Information regarding residence, occupation and injuries how caused not supplied.
Most probably these injuries were caused by Gun shot.

(Sd.) H. L. TIKKU,
Chief Medical Officer, Kashmir.

The following papers have been submitted by B. Anand Saroop, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Srinagar (Witness No. 34) as asked for vide page 113.

از مقام دیالہ گام تحصیل اننت ناگ

جناب گورنر صاحب

چونکہ سننے میں آیا کہ اسلام آباد وغیرہ مضافات میں پل کھنڈیل اور پل سنگم کو بذریعہ آگ اڑانے کی سازش ہو رہی ہے۔ اور اس طرح سے قصبہ اور مضافات کو خطرہ عظیم میں ڈالنے کی کوشش ہو رہی ہے۔ لہذا بصورت ہونے ایک وفادار اور زمیندار رعیت کے حضور کو اطلاع دی جاتی ہے۔ تاکہ فوراً مناسب انتظام کیا جاوے۔

خیر خواہ سرکار زمیندار دیالہ گام خاص

RESPECTED SIR,

It is being given to understand that here in Anantnag town conspiracy is being to burn the

1. Sangam Bridge and
2. Khanabal Bridge,

and thereof to throw the town and surroundings in some grand danger. So I as being one of your faithful subjects warn your honour, please be cautious of the fact and arrange of bridges. His Highness are also being given a copy of the same.

The officers in charge are unaware of the facts.

Yours faithfully,

Subject (one Mohammedan).

از تحصیل اننت ناگ

محضو جناب گورنر صاحب ہاؤس ٹرینگر

جناب عالی۔ بہ تعمیل حکم التماس ہے کہ جناب کی تاریخ ۹۵۲ مورخہ ۲۰ جولائی ۱۹۳۱ء کہ ذیلداران و نمبرداران کو ہیڈ کوارٹر پر بلا کر ان کو کہہ دیوں کہ وہ اپنے اپنے علاقہ جات میں تحفظ امن کے ذمہ دار ہوں گے نمبرداران و ذیلداران و چوکیداران کو سٹیٹ پراپرٹی مثلاً تار۔ پل۔ وغیرہ کی حفاظت کا ذمہ دار گردانا جاوے۔ وغیرہ ۵ رساؤن ۱۹۸۸ء کو موصول ہونے پر ذیلداران و نمبرداران کو ۵ رساؤن ۱۹۸۸ء کے واسطے تحصیل پر طلب کیا گیا۔ چنانچہ جب حضور والا ۶ رساؤن ۱۹۸۸ء کو پہاگام سے واپسی پر اننت ناگ تشریف لائے تو جناب والا کے دریافت

فرمانے پر زبانی بھی عرض کی گئی۔ کہ ۱۹۸۸ء سداون مطابقت حکم و ہدایت زبانی قبیل ہوگی۔ چنانچہ ۱۹۸۸ء سداون سہیل کو زبیداران و نمبرداران کو بمقتضائے حکم تاریخ سنا کر غلام محمد زبیدار اننت ناگ سے بزبان کشمیری ترجمہ بھی اکر کر اس کو سنایا گیا۔ اور ان کی اطلاع دینی کرائی گئی۔ جو شامل میں ہے۔ جو غیر حاضر تھے۔ زبیداران متعلقہ کو ان کی اطلاع دہی کا ذمہ دار گردانا۔ زبیدار سنگم و نمبرداران مرہمہ ملحقہ موضع سنگم بھی یہاں موجود تھے ان کی اطلاع دینی کرا کر ان کو خاص طور پر حفاظت تار و پل کی نسبت سمجھایا گیا۔ علاوہ اس کے ۱۹۸۸ء سداون کو میں بہرہی صاحب اسٹنٹ سپرنٹنڈنٹ پولیس اول کھنہ بل جا کر نمبردار و چوکیدار کھنہ بل کو متعلق حفاظت پل و دیگر جائیداد سرکاری ہدایت دے کر سنگم پہنچے۔ وہاں سے نمبرداران مرہمہ و چوکیداران کی طلبی کے واسطے تارا چند چراسی کو مامور کر کے ہدایت کی گئی کہ ان کو ہماری واپسی از تار گھر ستھر سنگر تک پل پر حاضر رکھے۔ اور خود تار گھر پر جا کر نمبردار ستھر سنگر کو بلا کر اس کو متعلق حفاظت تار و پل ہاں مزید تاکید کر کے واپسی پل سنگم پر آئے۔ وہاں نمبرداران و چوکیداران مرہمہ کو خاص طور پر پل سنگم و لائن تار اندر حد و مرہمہ کے حفاظت کے متعلق مزید تاکید زبانی کی۔ بلکہ صاحب اسٹنٹ سپرنٹنڈنٹ پولیس نے اس وقت کتاب چوکیداری پر بھی اس کے متعلق لکھ دیا۔ گرد اور علاقہ و پٹواری بھی پل پر موجود تھے۔ درج رہے کہ تار گھر سنگم موضع ستھر سنگر اور پل سنگم کا شمالی حصہ موضع مرہمہ میں واقع ہے۔ ۲۲ سداون ۱۹۸۸ء

(دستخط) احد شاہ

